

The French regime in Wisconsin.

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The French Regime in Wisconsin — III

1743: SIOUX INSTIGATE REBELLION; NEWS FROM ILLINOIS

[Letter from the French minister¹ to Beauharnois, dated May 31, 1743. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, serie B, Canada, vol. 76, fol. 100."]

¹ From 1723–49, the minister of the marine (which included the bureau of the colonies), was Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas.— Ed.

Versailles , May 31, 1743.

Monsieur —The report you made me in 1741 respecting what had passed between the Scioux and Renard Savages² having led me to suspect that both would seek to join together, I wrote you in my despatch of April 20th of last year to neglect nothing to prevent so dangerous a union. Such suspicions are only too fully justified. In fact I see by a letter from Monsieur de Bienville,³ dated February 4th last, that the Sieur de Bertet, major commanding at Illinois⁴ has informed him that the voyageurs who had arrived from Canada the previous autumn had reported to him that the Scioux, not content with having broken the peace they themselves had gone to ask of you, had also induced the Renards to join them in a fresh attempt against the French, and that the Sakis not wishing to take part in this league had wholly separated themselves from the other tribes. 1

² See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 360–363.— Ed.

³ For a brief sketch of Bienville, see *Ibid.*, p. 150, note 1.— Ed.

⁴ For this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 479. He was living in France as late as 1783.— Ed.

Although this news may not be entirely well-founded, nevertheless the conduct of the Scioux, their turbulent character, and the spirit of revenge which there is reason to believe still animates the Renards against the French, require that you take the best measures to procure accurate information as to what is happening in connection with them, and to prevent the evil consequences of such a league, should one be formed. His Majesty can but rely on your zeal and prudence with regard to the precautions you may deem it advisable to take to attain that end.

You have been informed of the rumors of an understanding between the Illinois and the Chicachas, and of the movements it was alleged the former had made on that occasion at the post. From the report made by the Sieur de Bertet on the matter to Monsieur de Bienville, it appears that those rumors had no other foundation than some speeches made by a savage chief, to which the conduct of the Illinois had not given rise, and that nation, in order to remove the bad opinion that might be conceived of its fidelity, had made as a last resort an expedition against the Chicachas, which, in truth, was not very successful, because the enemy fled at the sight of the band that had been raised; so that they lost nothing but their horses and baggage on that occasion.

From the report sent me at the same time by Monsieur de Bienville with regard to the Chicashas, there is reason to believe that, exhausted by their continual losses,⁵ they will at last decide to leave their lands and withdraw in the direction of Carolina. He even informed me that a portion of the nation

⁵ The colony of Louisiana had been carrying on war against the Chickssaw tribe for several years, induced by the difficulties with the Natchez who had retreated among them. Sieur de Bienville had conducted two unsuccessful expeditions against the Chickasaw—that of 1736, in which a considerable contingent from the Illinois was captured; and that of 1739–40, which effected little. Meanwhile the rebellious tribe was being harassed by

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bands of other Indians from both Canada and Louisiana, who were urged on by French officers.— Ed.

3 had taken that route, and the remainder were kept back only by the chief of the nation⁶ who had most contributed to engage them in the war they are obliged to sustain. In any ease, it is expedient, as I have already told you in another despatch, that you should continue to induce the nations of Canada to undertake fresh expeditions against them, unless, on receipt of news from Monsieur de Vaudreuil,⁷ it should be necessary to suspend these.

⁶ This chief was either the Red King or Pimataha, both of whom died in 1784. The latter's boyhood name was Nouholubbe (White Man Killer). He was noted as an especial enemy of the French, and caused the defeat of the Illinois expedition of 1736. The site of this disaster was in Pontotoc County, Miss. See Draper MSS., owned by the Wisconsin Historical Society, 10U109–118.— Ed.

⁷ Sieur de Bienville, governor of Louisiana, had in 1742 asked to be relieved from his office. His successor, Pierre François Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, arrived in New Orleans May 10, 1743. For a brief sketch see *Wist. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 31.— Ed.

1744: NEGOTIATIONS WITH WESTERN TRIBES

[Letter from the French minister to Beauharnois, dated March 24, 1744. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 78, folio 20.]

Versailles , March 24, 1744.

Monsieur —I have received your letters of the 18th of September and 13th of October last with the annexed documents.

When, in my despatch of May 31 of last year, I wrote you—in connection with the report made to me from Louisiana regarding the Scioux and Renard Savages—that it was

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necessary to take measures to prevent the evil consequences that might result from the league they were alleged to have formed, I did not mean to disapprove of what you had done with reference to those savages during their negotiations with you⁴ for the purpose of obtaining peace. In fact, there was nothing else to be done than to feign a belief in their assurances to you that they had changed. But, although, from the manner in which you write me that they have since behaved, one might deem their dispositions sincere, nevertheless it is advisable to continue to have them carefully watched, so that, by being informed of their movements, you may always be in a position to provide for whatever may be necessary. As the Renards and Sakis are partly reassembled at the place indicated to them by the Sieur Marin,⁸ it will not be difficult to watch their conduct; and His Majesty relies on your having taken all possible precautions for this.

⁸ For a sketch of this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 315. Some additional data is to be found in *Canada Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd series, x, pp. 25–30.— Ed.

* * * * *

With regard to the Chaoüanons, it is necessary to wait and see the results of the promises they made you respecting their migration to the Prairie of the Mascoutins;⁹ and, if they carry out such migration, the only thing will be to take measures to induce them to establish themselves there in such a permanent manner that there will no longer be any fear of a new move on their part. It will be no less necessary to forestall the effects of the solicitations which the English will not fail to make use of with that view.; and this calls for special attention on your part.

⁹ The Prairie of the Mascoutin was near the Ouiatanon fort. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv p. 208.— Ed.

In the last letters I have received from Monsieur de Vaudreuil, he informs me that the Chikachas had sent some of their chiefs to him to sue for peace; and as, in order to make such peace a lasting one, it was proposed to include in it the Cherakis, who for

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some years have been making incursions against the colony of Louisiana, Monsieur de Vaudreuil had communicated to you the dispositions it would be necessary to make for that purpose on the part of Canada; and you will no doubt have governed yourself by what he wrote you on the 5 subject, as I instructed you last year, either to have the Chicachas, Cherokis, and Teste Plates harassed, or to put a stop to the expeditions the Canadian nations seem disposed to renew against them.

* * * * *

Monsieur Hocquart¹⁰ has sent me the statement of the distribution of presents to the savages last year; and I notice with pleasure that it was much smaller than in previous years. I trust you will continue to devote your attention to reducing expenses of this kind as much as the welfare of the service will permit.

¹⁰ Hocquart was the Canadian intendant; see *Wist. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 76, 498.— Ed.

I will remember the Sieurs Marin with pleasure according to the testimony you may give me regarding them.

1745: CANADA AND LOUISIANA; COUREURS DES BOIS; POST OF LA BAYE

[Letter from the French minister to Beauharnois, dated April 28, 1745. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 81, folio 39.]

Versailles , April 28, 1745.

Monsieur —i have received your letters of the 21st and 25th of October of last year.

As early as 1743, Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, wrote me that, in order to put a stop to the continual disorderly conduct of the Coureurs de bois in the Illinois country, and to the frequent desertions of soldiers from that post, it would be necessary to take special steps to make sure of those who go there to trade. With that in view and,

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at the same time, to increase the trade of the colony, he informed me that it would be advisable to establish small posts in the direction of the Missouri. By the last report he sent me on that subject, I understood that he had been obliged to make some arrangements necessitated by fresh disorders on the part of the Coureurs de bois, in regard to which he had not time to ask you for orders; but that he would avail himself of the first opportunity to communicate his views to you, not only concerning the posts I have just mentioned, but also regarding the fixing of boundaries for the trade of both colonies, so that in future you may both unite in promoting its spread, and in maintaining good order in the respective posts.

This information will show you that there is but little foundation for the reports made to you of acts of trespass against your rights that have been imputed to him; and, in addition to the fact that I know his ideas regarding you sufficiently well to believe that he will do nothing whereof you can complain, I must also believe that he understands the necessity of subordination too well to allow of his doing anything that might subvert it. Nevertheless, as nothing is more expedient than to take steps to restrain the Coureurs de bois whose number increases yearly in the Illinois country, and to stop the desertion of soldiers from that post, and as it appears that the measures proposed by Monsieur de Vaudreuil may contribute thereto, His Majesty desires that, after considering them, you will communicate yours to him, so as to elaborate a plan together to which His Majesty may give his approval.

If the conduct of the farmers of la Baye is such as the Sieur de Lusignan¹¹ has reported to you, one can not but approve the decision you took to order that officer to send back to Montreal the man named Auge, the one of them against whom complaints were more especially made. And if it is true, likewise, that those farmers have supplied the Coureurs de bois with goods, and have failed in their duty to the commandant, His Majesty has no doubt but that, after verifying the facts, you have enforced against them the regulations enacted on this subject. But may it not have happened that

11 This officer is noted in *Ibid.*, p. 259. In addition to the facts there given, it should be stated that he was in command at La Baye (Green Bay), 1743–46.— Ed.

7 such verification has shown you that special views on the part of the Sieur de Lusignan have compelled the farmers to seek expedients in order to derive a profit from their trade? You will be good enough to report to me on this matter, for I am not unaware of the fact, and have even not been able to avoid informing His Majesty, that most of the officers seek only to disgust the farmers in the hope, no doubt, that matters will be re-established on the same footing as formerly. But you will see by the King's memorial what His Majesty's sentiments are on the subject; and I am too familiar with your zeal not to be convinced that on your part, you will take proper steps to prevent any one disobeying the orders He has given on the subject.

With regard to the Coureurs des bois who were found near the post of la Baye, it is greatly to be desired that they have been arrested and taken to the colony, and there punished in such manner as to restrain the others.

1747: PARTNERSHIP TO EXPLOIT LA BAYE¹²

12 This document is a complement to that in *Ibid.*, pp. 451–455. In the latter the authorities at Montreal lease the post of La Baye to Moniere, Lechelle, and Clignancourt. In this paper, Moniere and Lechelle, who were a firm of Montreal merchants (*equippeurs*) engaged in fitting out parties for the fur-trade, lease the post of La Baye to a company formed by Clignancourt; with the exception of the latter, this corporation is composed of partners actively concerned in the fur-trade, having been at the upper posts for many years.— Ed.

[Translation from document in Chicago Historical Society MSS., O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 151.]

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We, Lemoine Moniere and Jean Lechelle undersigned merchants of this city of montreal have ceded and by these presents do cede to Monsieur Louis Damour esquire Sieur de 8 Clignancourt, sieur jean Gareau dit saintonge,¹³ Paul Leduc acting as well for himself as for sieur Etienne Augé, According to his power of attorney given Under his private seal with date of Aug. 2, 1746,¹⁴ all associated on Equal terms, The Post of La Baye and its dependencies. This cession is made without any reserve in the same manner as this post is ceded to us, by Monsieur michel commissioner-ordinator¹⁵ in this country or others, at the same price and for the same length of time as it is accorded to us, and in accordance with the charges, obligations, and conditions into which we enter. These conditions shall go into effect at the same time that they are accepted (that is to say at the present), As they are herein expressed, The present Cession being made under the following conditions.

¹³ Jean Gareau was a member of the Sioux company formed in 1727. He was doubtless intending to exploit the trade of that tribe, and had probably spent many years in their country.— Ed.

¹⁴ Paul le Due, born in 1706, belonged to a family who had for many years traded in the upper country; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, index. His only daughter, Elizabeth, married one of the Gareau family in 1759.

Etienne Augé was one of the partners who leased La Baye in 1744. He had been complained of by the commandant (see preceding document); his misconduct was the cause of his death. Shortly after giving this power of attorney, he was murdered by a Menominee Indian. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 36.— Ed.

¹⁵ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 451, note 2.— Ed.

First . The said sieurs moniere and Lechelle oblige Themselves to provide to the said associates for The exploitation of the said post during the said time all the Merchandise,

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provisions, Canoes, money advanced for the wages of the employees, and all the ether furnishings and necessary disbursements The Merchandise for the trading to be supplied at the price Current at Quebec, According to the invoices of the said Concessionaires, to which shall Be added a Profit of twenty-five percent above that of Quebec; at the same time the other furnishings which are not for Profit shall Follow the 9 price Current of the other Outfitters of this city, and for cloths and Powder They shall pass at the same price Current.

Second . In Consideration of the preceding article the said associates shall not during the aforesaid time procure any merchandise, provisions, or any general furnishings whatever from any other merchants than the said sieur moniere and Lechelle; moreover they shall each year by the ordinary Convoys send a List of all that will Be necessary, and the latter Will consider themselves bound to serve them as well as they can possibly be Served according to The interests of the said associates.

Third . The Beaver, Peltry, and other Effects coming from the said post shall by the said associates be addressed to the said sieurs Meniere and Lechelle, and taken to their warehouse; These shall Be received by the said Outfitters In the presence of two persons known to The parties of the agreement, who Shall pass them at the price that shall be agreed upon each year by the Merchants of this city, and the said associates can dispose of The excess products only after The said sieurs meniere and Lechelle have Reimbursed themselves for the Sums that Are due them from the said Company.

Fourth . The said Sieurs Moniere & Leehelle Reserve to themselves the right, If they shall think best, after Their advances have been paid, according to the preceding article, of accepting at the general price that Is current each year in Quebec, all the excess peltries, On which they shall defray the charges of transportation to Quebec; or they shall be placed to the Account and to the credit of the said partnership, with interest at Six percent on the Sums that shall remain To them after the said advances have been paid.

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Fifth . The said associates oblige themselves to send in the month of August next to the said Outfitters, the amount of disbursements and advances of money that they will need for the current year.

Sixth . The said associates Shall hold themselves Collectively and Individually obligated to The said Sieurs moniere 10 & Lechelle for all The Sums that are furnished them, for all the Goods that Are sent them, for the advances and wages that shall be paid for them to their employees. The provisions and other furnishings as well as The disbursements for The lease of the said post and other things not Specified in these presents—all These Sums shall Be allowed On the invoices and Accounts that they shall furnish each year Without the need of other acknowledgements.

Seventh . The said associates constitute by the present articles The said Sieurs Meniere and Lechelle Their Agents general and Special for making all their Invoices, for Representing their persons either as bringing suit at law or defending the same, for watching all that can benefit Their partnership as well as undertaking to stop all that may be to Their disadvantage, by the Power to seek and Recover the Sums that may Be due them from all to whom they have made advances, for giving valid releases; giving Them full power for the things that can not be anticipated that require a further power, willing that these presents shall remain in force and be valid until the Revocation thereof, approving by these presents all that The said Sieurs Moniere & Lechelle shall do for the Good of the said interests of The said partnership. Thus having Agreed Together, the above said parties after the reading of the above have declared themselves content and satisfied and have both signed These presents, at montreal the fourth of april, one thousand seven hundred and forty seven.

Lechelles

Moniere

Clignancourt

Paul Leduc

Paul Le Duc for Ange,

Jean Garreau

11

1748: THE UPPER POSTS

[Letter of the French minister to La Galissonière, 16 dated Feb. 12, 1748. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, serie B, Canada, vol. 87, fol. 18."]

16 The new governor, for whom see *Ibid.*, p. 470.— Ed.

Versailles , February 12, 1748.

Monsieur —I reply to the letters you wrote me on the 4th, 12th, and 22nd October of last year.

* * * * *

It is greatly to be desired that the arrival at Detroit and at Michilimakinac of the Convoys sent to those two posts should have contributed to restore tranquility there. The goods transported there by them, and also what the nations have heard concerning the supplies the colony has received, must have enabled them to see the little foundation there was for the rumors carefully spread by the enemy regarding its alleged state of exhaustion. But the best way to restrain them would doubtless be to inflict a signal punishment on the Sautaux as being the most guilty, and His Majesty will approve the measures you may take with that purpose.

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1748: THE SHAWNEE

[Letter from the French minister to La Galissonière, dated Feb. 23, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 31.]

Versailles , February 23, 1748.

Monsieur —The Chaoüanon Savages, after residing a long while at Detroit, decided several years ago to leave that post and go and settle in the direction of the Belle Rivière; they were led to determine upon such removal by quarrels that had arisen between them and the other savages. Those quarrels are 12 now over; but those savages have always kept aloof from the post.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois carried on negotiations for a long time to get them to return; but, owing to the influence of the English, into whose hands their trade had passed, all such negotiations were unsuccessful, although, at various times, they held out hopes either that they would resume their former residence at Detroit, or would merely draw closer to it to come back under French domination, after completely separating from the English. But. about three years ago, and at the time when they seemed determined to follow the latter decision. and had even caused Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois to be informed of it, they decided to go to the Illinois. They accordingly asked Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, to have a fort built on the Oüeabache river, where they offered to gather all together and to join the Kickapous and Mascoutins, nations that had long been attached to the French. At the time it seemed all the more advisable to favor such migration because the Chaouanons, who naturally love the French, are gentle in character and consequently easier to govern than all the others. and there was a risk of losing them forever by refusing their request.

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But it is reported that since the war, they have been joined by a considerable number of savages of all nations, forming a sort of republic dominated by some Iroquois of the Five Nations who form part of it, and that, as the English almost entirely supply their needs, it is to be feared that they may succeed in seducing them. This would be all the more regrettable, since they might easily interrupt communication between Canada and Louisiana, and even occasion the loss of the greater part of the posts of both Colonies.

I am writing to Monsieur de Vaudreuil regarding that union, so that he may strive to break it if it be such as is represented; and His Majesty's wish is that, in such case, you should contribute to the work on your side. You will come to an understanding for the purpose with Monsieur de Vaudreuil,

MICHEL-ROLLAND BARIN, COMTE DE LA GALISSONNIÈRE From a copy, at Quebec, of original portrait in possession of the family in France

13 who will communicate his views and operations to you, and to whom it is also advisable that you should communicate your views, in order that he may conform to them.

1748: CHEQUAMEGON POST

[Letter from the French minister to La Galissonnière and Hocquart, dated Feb. 23, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 28.]

Versailles , February 23, 1748.

Messieurs —i have received your letters of the 2nd and 28th of October and the 7th of November last with the annexed documents.

* * * * *

I will reply by a private letter to your representations in favor of the widows of Monsieur Deschaillons and Sieur Pèan. But His Majesty has not granted the request you also made

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to give the post of Chagouamigon for three years longer to the widow of the Sieur de la Ronde. You cannot be unaware of the fact that her husband enjoyed it for a fairly long while. It was also afterwards granted to his widow for three years more, and it would be making it perpetual in that family to leave it there longer, an objectionable feature that must be avoided at all the posts. Thus His Majesty wishes this one to be farmed out like the others to the person offering the best terms.

[Letter from the French minister to La Galissonnière and Hocquart, dated March 6, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 41½.]

Versailles , March 6, 1748.

Messieurs —by one of my letters of the first of this month, you will see that your request that the enjoyment of the post of Chagouamigon be extended for three years more in favor of 14 Dame de La Ronde, has been refused. The King has, nevertheless, taken into consideration the unfortunate situation in which I informed him that Widow was placed, and His Majesty has been pleased to grant her for three years, counting from the present one, one third of the revenue that may be derived from the farming of that post for her account.

Monsieur Hocquart will be good enough to pay this to her. His Majesty, however, does not wish you to propose anything beyond it.

1748: THE ILLINOIS SHOULD REVERT TO CANADA

[Letter from the French minister to La Galissonnière, dated April 25, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 51.]¹⁷

¹⁷ A letter of similar import was sent under the same date to Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana. It is found in the same source as the preceding document, but under "Louisiana, folio 7."— Ed.

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Versailles , April 25, 1748.

Monsieur —you are no doubt aware that the Illinois post was formerly an immediate dependency of the general government of Canada, and that it was only in 1717 that it was taken from it to be united to and incorporated with the particular government of Louisiana. The reasons for such change were that, in consequence of the desire then prevailing to favor the concessions of the company of the Occident, the addition of the Illinois country to the latter colony would be all the more advantageous to it that such country would supply fresh materials for its commerce, both through the trade with the Sarages, and through the products of its cultivation. The working of the mines was also brought forward as an abundant source of wealth. And it was considered that there would be better opportunities of utilizing those advantages in Louisiana than in Canada.

But in the first place, the chief reason that then led to such 15 decision no longer exists, since the King has taken over the colony of Louisiana, for it is indifferent to the King's service and to that of the State whether that colony or Canada benefits by the advantages the Illinois establishment can give; and the only question at issue is to know which of the two can derive the greatest benefit from it or is most in need thereof.

In the second place, if we consider the circumstances which must lead to the decision of this question, they all seem to be in favor of Canada.

In fact, the Illinois post can be considered only as a burdensome establishment for Louisiana. It is 400 leagues distant from New Orleans. It serves but to divide and consequently to weaken the forces of that colony. It entails considerable expenditure on the King for the maintenance of the two companies in garrison there, owing to the difficulties of transport, and for the same reason causes the death of many soldiers. The greater portion of the proceeds of the fur-trade with the savages passes into Canada. And everybody knows that the hopes that had been raised with regard to the mines have vanished, since the whole thing is reduced to getting a little from those of lead.

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By reuniting that post to Canada, Louisiana would, in the first place, gain the two companies of troops stationed there, which might be more usefully employed for the defense of the chief posts of that colony. The King would be spared the expense occasioned by that garrison there. It would be sufficient to send there from Canada a detachment of a few soldiers with an officer to be commandant, and the farmer of the trade of the post or the traders to whom licenses would be granted should be obliged to transport the necessary provisions for that detachment and other requisites, according to the practice for the remote posts of Canada. So that this post, far from being a burden upon the King, might, on the contrary, increase the revenues of that colony, which would be in a much better position than Louisiana to exploit that post, although it is farther from Montreal than from New Orleans, 16 owing to the people of Canada being accustomed to journeys of that kind.

It does not appear either that the removal of the two companies of troops forming the garrison can injuriously affect the safety of the post. Besides the fact that the French are there in sufficient number to have nothing to fear from the savages, it is probable that the latter will be better satisfied and quieter under the immediate command of an officer from Canada, because it is certain that they fear the French and savages of that country much more than those of Louisiana.

The separation of the post could not injure the defence of Louisiana. The habitants of the Illinois country could hardly be in a position to aid in it. And if an occasion arose, the officer of Canada in command there, would always be obliged to execute the orders that would be given him in the matter by the governor of Louisiana.

There is only the article of flour which the latter colony obtains from the Illinois, that can deserve attention. But could not that branch of trade, the only one from which it derived any benefit, continue to be carried on notwithstanding the reunion of that post to Canada ? And could not the convoys that transport such flour go on doing it as usual?

It is true that the goods that would not fail to be sent there from Louisiana might give rise to difficulties in connection with the trade of that post. But could not arrangements be made to conciliate all such matters?

I beg you to weigh all these reasons and such others as may occur to you and consider whether it would in fact be advisable to unite the Illinois to Canada, or leave that post a dependency of Louisiana. In communicating your opinion on the subject to me, you will also please explain the new arrangements you think should be made in consequence of the decision you may propose. I am also writing on this matter to Monsieur de Vaudreuil, the Governor of Louisiana, and when I shall have received your answer and his, I will take the 17 King's orders on the subject and communicate them to both of you.¹⁸

¹⁸ See the responses of the governors of Louisiana and Canada in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 493–498, 512–518.— Ed.

1749: INSTRUCTIONS TO THE NEW GOVERNOR, THE MARQUIS DE LA JONQUIÈRE

[Extracts from the memoir of the king, dated at Versailles, April 30, 1749. Translated from La Jonquière, *Le Chef d'escadre, Marquis de La Jonquière* (Paris, n. d.), pp. 253–267.]

Of all the parts of the administration confided to the sieur de La Jonquière,¹⁹ that which demands the most exacting care on his part, is the government of the savages. He should be informed that Canada is inhabited by numerous tribes all the more difficult to restrain that their ordinary character is one of levity and inconstancy. Among these nations some are established in the neighborhood of the throe towns of the Colony; others are domiciled in the posts of the upper country and Acadia; and the rest are scattered over the country. 2

¹⁹ Pierre Jacques de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière, was an efficient naval officer, having participated in twenty-nine cruises and nine naval battles, in which he was thrice wounded. Born at Paris in 1685, he entered the navy at the age of twelve, rising by successive grades until becoming admiral in 1746. He twice (1733, 1738) visited Quebec

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in command of a man-of-war, and in 1746 was chosen governor-general of Canada to succeed Beauharnois. Having been captured by the English on the way to his post of office, La Galissonière served in his stead (1747–49). Having been released from captivity by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), La Jonquière proceeded to Canada in 1749, where he governed efficiently for two years and a half, dying in Quebec March 17, 1752, and being buried in the church of the Recollets. La Jonquière was noted for his avaricious disposition, and exploited the posts of the upper country for his own advantage and that of his satellites.— Ed.

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The villages established in the environs of the towns are five in number: that of Lorette composed of Hurons near to Quebec;²⁰ those of Becancour and Saint-Francis composed of Abenakis, near to Trois Rivières;²¹ that of sault Saint-Louis composed of Iroquois;²² and that of the Lake of two mountains composed of Iroquois, Algonkins, and Nippissingues in the environs of Montreal.²³ There is also a sixth whose establishment has been begun at Missikoui at the entrance of lake Champlain, which is to be composed of Abenakis and Loups.²⁴ The savages of these different villages have been instructed in the christian religion; and they have resident missionaries to give them spiritual succor.

²⁰ For this mission village see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 174.— Ed.

²¹ For the original home of the Abenaki see *Ibid.*, p. 192. The early Canadian mission villages of this tribe were destroyed by the Iroquois (1689–97). About 1700 the scattered remnants of these Christian Indians were gathered in two villages, one at the mouth of Beçancour River, the other at St. François du Lac, in Yamaska County, Quebec. Both still exist.— Ed.

²² The Indian mission of Sault Ste. Louis was established (1669) at La Prairie de la Madeleine, and seven years later removed to its present site, on the St. Lawrence. For a

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description of this mission, usually known as Caughnawaga, see "A. Michaux's Travels" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904–06), ii, 37–40.— Ed.

23 This was a Sulpician mission, founded in 1677. Raided during Frontenac's War (1691), it was finally removed (1720) to the Ottawa River, where the village called Oka still exists.— Ed.

24 This mission was broken up by the French and Indian War.— Ed.

It is the Jesuits who serve all these missions with the exception of that of the Lake of the two mountains which is served by the priests of the seminary of Saint-Sulpice.

His Majesty has cause to be satisfied with the conduct of these savages in general, as well as that of the missionaries, but the one that on all occasions until the present has showed the most zeal is that of the Lake of the two mountains.

* * * * *

Of all the tribes domiciled in the posts of the upper country there are only the Hurons of Detroit who have embraced the 19 christian religion; and their mission is under the care of the Jesuits. These savages during the war took part in some movements which have obliged us to take measures to restrain them.²⁵ The sieur marquis de La Jonquière will be informed on his arrival of what has occurred and will take the measures that the circumstances may demand to bring them under the proper discipline. The most of the tribes have the custom of sending in the spring of each year several deputies to Montreal to receive there the presents of ammunition and merchandise which are destined for them and whose distribution is regulated by the Governor lieutenant general, who proceeds in the month of May to that town in order to attend to this distribution and to the arrangement of the matters which concern the tribes. It is in the councils which the marquis de La Jonquière is obliged to hold with their chiefs that he can effectively work to inspire in them proper dispositions, and break up the intrigues that the English only too often put in

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practice to attach these savages to themselves. But the surest means of accomplishing this is to place in command of the posts only those officers who, by their talents and knowledge can bring this to pass.

25 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 458–511.— Ed.

1749: POLICY TOWARD INDIANS

[Letter from the French minister²⁶ to La Jonquière, dated May 4, 1749. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, “Amérique, serie B, Canada, vol. 89, folio 66.”]

²⁶ The minister of the marine had charge of the colonies. The incumbent at the date of this letter was Antoine Louis Rouillé, Comte de Joüy, who held the office from April 30, 1749 to July 28, 1754. He was born in 1689 of a magisterial family, and in 1744 was created councillor of state. After his services in the marine, he became minister of foreign affairs (1745–57) and died in 1761.— Ed.

Marly , May 4, 1749.

Monsieur —I reply to the letters of Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonnière of September 24, October 23, and November 8 last, respecting the Savages.

20

In the first of such letters he reported what related to the Chaoüanons; and stated that the lack of goods and the antipathy of most of the other nations to them, had decided them to separate into two bands, one of which has established itself at Sonontio,²⁷ where it forms a sort of republic with a fairly large number of bad characters of various nations who have retired thither, while the other went in the direction of the Cherakis.

²⁷ This was the village at the mouth of the Scioto (Sonontio, St. Yotoc) River, which in the Huron language signified a deer. This village, usually known as the Lower Shawnee Town, was built about 1747, being occupied for eleven years. Upon the visit of Christopher

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Gist and George Croghan (1751), about three hundred warriors were gathered there in two divisions—the smaller on the south side of the Ohio, the larger containing the council house on the north side, west of the Scioto. See William M. Darlington, *Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), p. 44. Two years later this village was inundated by an Ohio flood. During the French and Indian War, many English captives were brought thither, among them (1755) Mrs. Mary Ingles of Virginia. Upon the capture of Fort Duquesne (1758) the town was abandoned, its inhabitants retreating up the Scioto to the neighborhood of Chillicothe. Traces of the Indian occupation were visible for many years thereafter.— Ed.

By the letters of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, we have learned that the latter band, after ascending a part of the river of the Cherakis, decided to go and join the Alibamons,²⁸ where it appeared to have behaved well; and, as that Governor adds that the quarrel it had had with the Illinois was ended, there is a reason to believe there is nothing to fear from it.

²⁸ The Alibamon (Alabama, Alibamu) Indians belong to the Muskogean stock, with the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, etc. Their original home appears to have been on the Yazoo. At the time the French came to Louisiana this tribe was upon the river that bears its name, and the nearest portion of the Creek confederacy to the Mobile settlement. In 1702, 1704, and 1708, there were expeditions against them; while in 1714 a fort was built in their territory, christened Fort Toulouse, but usually known as “Aux Alibamons.” This post was maintained throughout the French period; and under its influence the Alibamon became docile Indian allies. Fort Toulouse was situated on the Coosa, near its junction with the Tallapoosa. A few Alibamon are still extant in Louisiana, Texas, and near a town of their name in Indian Territory.— Ed.

21

It is not quite the same with the band that has gone to Sonontio. In fact, there is reason to fear that the bad example of the savages who have joined it, and of whom the Governor of New York made use during the war to stir up the nations and cause them to undertake

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expeditions against the French, will lead that band to do something evil; and, for that reason, it is greatly to be desired that it be reunited to the remainder of the nation, either in Canada or in Louisiana. It is expedient that you should concert with Monsieur de Vaudreuil respecting such negotiations. That nation would be one of the most useful to us through its valor and docility. But in order to bring it back, it must be placed in a position to have its needs supplied, and to be protected from the other nations that might wish to disturb it. Such an arrangement calls for the most particular care on your part.

With regard to the sort of republic formed at Sonontio, if you succeed in inducing the Chaüanons to leave, it will be weakened to such an extent that it need no longer be feared. In any case, the King greatly approved the step taken by Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonnière who wrote to the Governor of New York²⁹ that if he continued to use the savages composing it to carry on incursions against the French, he would

²⁹ At this time George Clinton was governor of the province of New York. The younger son of the Earl of Lincoln, he entered the navy, where, in 1716, he was made captain. In 1732 he was governor of New-foundland, and five years later commodore of the Mediterranean fleet. His appointment to the governorship of New York dated from 1741. Entering upon his office in 1743, he remained therein ten years, during which term he was promoted in naval grade, becoming admiral in 1747. After his retirement to England (1753) he was governor of Greenwich and member of Parliament, dying July 10, 1761.— Ed.

²² take revenge for it against his colony, and there is reason to believe this will restrain him.

By his letter of October 23, Monsieur de La Galissonnière reported on the conduct of the majority of the nations of the upper country, who, at the instigation of the English, had murdered several Frenchmen, and also that he had decided to send strong detachments to Detroit and to Michilimakinac with the convoys prepared for the different posts.³⁰ His Majesty was much pleased to hear of the good effect produced by the presence of those detachments. On the other hand, he was very well satisfied with the good

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conduct of the Sieur de St. Pierre,³¹ captain commanding at Michilimackinac, who, by his firmness, succeeded in compelling the Nations in his command to give up the murderers of the French, and in getting all those nations to beg for pardon. The Sieur Chevalier de Longüeil³² seems also to have behaved equally well at Detroit. It is unfortunate, however, that those murderers should have succeeded in escaping. Their punishment would have afforded an example calculated to restrain all the Savages; and you will no doubt see, from the information you will obtain regarding what has taken place, how necessary it is to make examples so

30 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 505–512.— Ed.

31 For a sketch of this officer see *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 166.— Ed.

32 This was Paul Joseph le Moyne, fourth Baron de Longueuil, for whom see *Ibid.*, p. 432. It is there erroneously stated that he was second Baron de Longueuil. He who held that title was his elder brother Charles; on the latter's decease, he was succeeded by his son Charles Jacques, who was killed in 1755, whereupon his uncle Paul Joseph claimed the title. The latter was born in 1701, being married in 1728. His first command at Detroit was from 1743–48. From 1756–58 he was king's lieutenant at Quebec, whence he was promoted to the governorship of Trois Rivières. Upon the capitulation of New France to the English, Governor le Moyne de Longueuil retired to France and died at Tours in 1778. His right to the title of “Baron de Longueuil” was successfully contested by the posthumous daughter of the third baron, who later married David Alexander Grant of the English army. Descendants of this line still bear the title, which was confirmed (1881) in their behalf by the English crown.— Ed.

23 as to make sure of those whose dispositions are bad or wavering. As a rule, you will find the officers disposed to put an end to quarrels with the savages by means of conciliation; but it is certain, and experience has at all times proved it, that they can be restrained only by well-advised examples of severity, and you must not neglect any opportunity of making them.

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Finally, by his letter of November 8, Monsieur de La Galissonnière reports the arrival of the Iroquois nations at Quebec, with the exception of the Anniés,³³ who had sided with the English, in the first years of the war. His Majesty could not but approve of the conduct of Monsieur de La Galissonnière towards those Savages. You will learn that, in their conferences, the question of the pretension of the English to authority over them and their lands was discussed. The English consider these lands as forming part of their possessions, and the Iroquois as subjects of Great Britain. Those savages claim to be and in fact are independent of all nations, and their lands incontestably belong to them. They have at all times rebelled against the claim of the English. Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonnière seems to have decided them to insist upon their rights; and there is reason to believe they will do this all the more eagerly, because information had already been received that, a short time previously, they had treated the English of Orange and Costak³⁴ with the greatest contempt. As those Savages were still at Quebec when the last ships sailed, you will be informed of whatever else has happened in connection with them. There is a probability of your seeing them yourself this year. You are already informed of their views which are to maintain neutrality which they have long made the basis of their policy; but if, on account of what may have occurred between them and the English, they could be induced

33 The French appellation for the tribe known to the English as Mohawk.— Ed.

34 The term “Orange” was frequently employed for the town of Albany. “Costak” is apparently a misspelling for New York.— Ed.

24 to destroy the post of Choüeguen³⁵ standing on their lands, it would be obtaining from them a service most useful in every respect.

35 Choueguen was the French name of the post at Oswego, in the present state of New York. As early as 1724 the Iroquois had permitted English traders from Albany to build a trading-house at this site. The importance of the post induced Governor Burnet, in the winter of 1726–27, to build a military work for its protection. The French vainly protested,

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against its occupation. After Sir William Johnson in 1743 had erected his trading-house beneath its walls, it seriously damaged the French fur-trade. The post was finally captured in 1756 by the French under Montcalm. Two years later, however, they were obliged to evacuate it. After the French and Indian War, Oswego was re-garrisoned and repaired, and during the American Revolution was the headquarters for Loyalists and their Indian allies. This post was not surrendered to the United States until after Jay's Treaty (1794). It was then demolished, and the present city grew upon its site. Relics of the old fort were visible as late as 1839.— Ed.

As to the Anniez, they have never ventured on an incursion against the French since the attack made on them in 1747³⁶ by the Sieur Chevalier de Lacorne.³⁷ Their brothers had craved for their pardon; and it seems that Monsieur de La Galissonnière granted it. In any case, you will be guided by circumstances both with regard to those savages and to all others. His Majesty can but rely on your prudence as to this essential part of your administration, but he wishes you to avoid,

³⁶ For a documentary account of the affair, see *N.Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, pp. 81–83. The Mohawk were led in this campaign by King Hendrick. They raided near to Montreal, but were overtaken and defeated by La Corne.— Ed.

³⁷ Chevalier de la Corne was a famous French officer, son of Jean Louis, and younger brother of Louis, the commandant at Mackinac. La Corne de St. Luc was also a member of the same family. Pierre Chevalier de la Corne was connected with the Niagara post in 1720 and again in 1727. It was there that he learned the Iroquois language, which made him so capable a commander in the prolonged disturbances on the border. During King George's War (1744–45) he won distinction. Early in February, 1747, he led a detachment that achieved a brilliant victory near Mines in Nova Scotia. In June of the same year, he repulsed the Iroquois from Montreal, and the following year acted as witness to their treaty. He received the cross of St. Louis (1749) for his services. In 1750, he was again in Acadia; and during the French and Indian War was constantly employed with large detachments of

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militia and Indians. In 1758, he reinforced Ticonderoga, and the same year was defeated and wounded near Oswego. During the siege of Quebec (1759), La Corne commanded the rapids of the St. Lawrence in the rear of the army, and was slightly wounded at Sillery in April, 1760. Having embarked to return to France on the ill-fated "Auguste" (1761), he was wrecked off the coast of Cape Breton, perishing in the waves. His brother St. Luc was one of the six who survived this catastrophe.— Ed.

25 as much as possible all altercations that might result in unpleasant consequences, and occasion expenses which are always heavy in such cases.

1749: LICENSE SYSTEM RESTORED

[Letter from the French minister to La Jonquière and Bigot,³⁸ dated May 4, 1749. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 72.]

38 For this officer consult *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 499.— Ed.

Marly , May 4, 1749.

Messieurs —The arrangements that were made, some years ago, for the exploitation of the posts of the upper country having been frustrated in some places and upset in others in consequence of the war and of the movements of the savages, it became necessary to replace matters on a proper footing.

In a letter of October 23 last,³⁹ Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonnière proposed that the posts of Themiskamingue, Nepigon, Camanistigouya, Michipicoton, and la pointe of Chagouamigon alone be farmed out,⁴⁰ and that all the others be exploited by means of licenses.

39 For this letter see *Ibid.*, pp. 503, 504.— Ed.

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40 Concerning these posts see *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 246, 247; also *Id.*, xiii, pp. 397–440 (in Thwaites, “Story of Chequamegon”).— Ed.

He represented that the bad conduct of the farmers at the latter posts, and the high prices at which they were obliged to sell their goods to the savages, owing to that of their leases, have so disgusted the savages that there is reason to fear they will carry their trade entirely to the English, unless a remedy be applied; that the system of licenses is the only one that can be adopted,⁴¹ because competition between the traders will lead to their selling cheaper, and the savages will be able to more easily supply their needs; that, as the savages who frequent the posts he proposes to farm out, have not yet complained of the farmers and, moreover, cannot so easily go to the English, the farming out may, in their case, be continued without any drawback.

⁴¹ The licenses (*congés*) were originally established as a gratuity to the families of poor officers or gentlemen—furnishing a kind of pension. Abolished in 1696, they were re-established (1716) by a decree of the council of the marine in France. The order reads: “These permissions will be given to the poor families that the governor shall judge are most needy; they shall be countersigned by the intendant; moreover, if he shall find that the families to whom they are accorded are by their great misery not in position to make use of them themselves, those to whom they are assigned may sell them to the voyageurs of the country”— *Documents Historiques, Correspondence* (Quebec, 1893), 1, pp. 116, 117; see also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 100, 175, 388, 391.— Ed.

The King, to whom I submitted this arrangement, was pleased to approve of it; and His Majesty therefore consents that the posts of Thémiscamingue, Nepigon, Camanistigouya, Michipicoton, and la pointe Chagoüamigon alone shall be farmed out, and that the others shall be operated by means of licenses. But His Majesty has imposed two conditions on such arrangement. The first is that no officer is to exploit any such post, and that they who go to command at them shall enjoy only the allowances which you will regulate according to their rank and to the expense they will be called upon to incur from the nature of the

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posts. The second is, that out of the proceeds of the licenses and farming out, Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquière shall take only 10,000 livres for the aid which His Majesty is pleased to continue to grant to the poor families of the colony. The balance shall be paid into the treasury; 27 and you will be careful to account to me every year for the proceeds of the licenses and leases.

1749: DEVELOPMENT OF DETROIT AND MACKINAC

[Letter from the French minister to La Jonquière and Bigot, dated May 14, 1749. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 76.]

Marly , May 14, 1749.

Messieurs —Detroit has at all times been considered an important post; and it is so in fact, not only on account of its position with regard to the savage nations whom it enables us to restrain, but also because it is an obstacle to the encroachments of the English, and furnishes supplies to the voyageurs of all the other Southern posts. It is also one of the most advantageous for the fur-trade.

Hitherto attention has been devoted to the various arrangements proposed, for the purpose of peopling that post with inhabitants capable of cultivating the soil and of making it secure from attack by the savages; But hitherto, also, it has come to pass that most of those in whose favor such arrangements have been made, have applied themselves solely to the fur-trade and have abandoned the post as soon as they were prevented from so doing. It has been considered that an effective means of remedying that evil would be the appointment of a sedentary commandant who, being interested in everything that could contribute to the growth of the post, would occupy himself only with what would be conducive thereto. Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart had deemed such an arrangement most suitable; but they thought its execution should be deferred until peace was declared. And, as Monsieur the Comte de La Galissoniere, to whom it was communicated, also thought it should be carried out, His Majesty has decided to approve

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it. At the same time he has selected the Sieur de 28 Celoron captain⁴² for that command, and has given him the rank of major with the same prerogatives as the commandant of the Illinois post. As such his pay will be 1200 livres besides the usual allowance of 3000 livres to be taken from the proceeds of the licenses issued for the exploitation of that post.

⁴² For a brief sketch of Pierre Joseph Céloron see *Ibid.*, p. 207. The date of his death is there erroneously given; he died of wounds received in 1759. See *Canadian Archives*, 1905, i, p. 306; and *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv, p. 333. The Sieur de Céloron who retired to France and died there after 1778, was probably his son.— Ed.

Monsieur the Comte de La Galissoniere had also proposed that that commandant be given authority over the posts of the Miamis, of the river Blanche and of the Ouyatanons or nations of the Oüabache,⁴³ His Majesty has approved that suggestion, and Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquiere may send them the necessary orders accordingly. I enclose his commission as major.

⁴³ For these posts see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 131. The “post of the river Blanche” has been identified by us (*Ibid.*, p. 501) with Vincennes. We are now disposed, however, in view of later information, to change our opinion. There seems to have been a post about 1745–47 in the Iroquois-Miami village, on the Little Miami, about nine miles above the Ohio. See *Canadian Archives*, 1905, p. 42; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 458, 474, 475.— Ed.

You will make that officer understand how flattered he should be at such a mark of confidence and also the continual attention he should devote to making himself worthy of it. His first aim must be to maintain the nations of the continent in proper dispositions; and, as the surest way to do this is to strengthen the post with permanent residents, he must neglect nothing that can contribute towards getting the greatest possible number. His Majesty desires that you, on your part, should give your concurrence in the matter. If there be any special arrangements to be made to induce habitants to go and take up

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farms at that post, you may propose them; and Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquiere will, moreover, confer with 29 Monsieur Bigot regarding the instructions to be given the Sieur de Celoron for his conduct in all respects.

Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonière also thought it would be advisable to appoint a sedentary commandant at Michilimakinac, who would have authority over all the Northern posts; but he stated at the same time that the difficulty of getting provisions there made it necessary to defer such appointment to another time. You will inquire into what should be done in that respect and I will await your report.

1749: POSTS OF THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Letter from La Jonquière and Bigot to the French minister, dated Sept. 28, 1749. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Correspondence générale, C 11, vol. 93, folio 19."]

Monseigneur —We have seen, by the Letter you did us the honor of Writing us on May 4 last regarding the Exploitation of the posts of the Upper country, that the King had approved of those posts being exploited in future by licenses with the exception of those of Themiskamingue, Nepigon, Camanistiguouya, Michipicoton and la pointe Chagouamigon, on the condition that the Exploitation of no post shall be given to the officers.

This measure, Monseigneur, is the best way of maintaining abundance and low prices and thereby preventing the savage from taking his furs to the English. We shall comply with these orders And Monsieur de Lajonquiere will take from the proceeds of the Licenses and leases 10,000 livres only for the amount his Majesty is pleased to continue to have distributed amongst the poor families of the Colony, and will put the surplus in the Treasury. But he will not be in position for some time to follow out this arrangement, as he must first pay what he owes out of the proceeds.

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We have the honor to Be, with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

Laionquiere , Bigot .

Quebec , September 28, 1749.

[Letter from La Jonquière and Bigot to the French minister, dated Oct. 5, 1749. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 31.]

Monseigneur —We reply to the Letter you did us The honor of Writing to us on May 23 Regarding the post of Detroit.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See *ante*, letter of May 14 (not May 23).— Ed.

This post has with much reason at all times been considered very interesting and important, not only from its position with reference to the savage Nations it controls, but Also as a barrier to the Encroachment of the English and because of the provisions it can supply to the Voyageurs of the Southern posts; moreover it Is very advantageous for the fur Trade.

All these Considerations Led Messieurs de La Galissoniere and Bigot to take upon Themselves to Send to that post as early as last spring as many families as they could get, to whom they promised a provision of flour for two years with all the necessary implements for clearing and hoeing the soil. This number is not as large as they would have wished, only 46 persons having gone there, including men, women and Children. It Was Necessary, Monseigneur, not to lose a year while waiting for your answer as we Were. convinced It would be in Accordance with your ideas, And next spring we will Send up others of we can get them.⁴⁵

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45 By 1750, the population of Detroit had increased by fifty-seven, making a total of four hundred and eighty-three colonists. Ten grants of that year still exist. see Bela Hubbard, *Memorials of a Half-Century* (New York, 1887), p. 116.— Ed.

It Is Necessary to populate Detroit. If we could have a strong militia there with some regular troops the savage Nations 31 would never dare to make disturbances. And to succeed in this and have Proper discipline in that country, it was necessary to send families there and to Establish a resident Commandant, As has just Been done In favor of Monsieur de Celoron. He will Keep them in hand and make them settle on the land he will give them to clear in consideration of the aid they receive from the King. That officer cannot go there before next spring as he Has not Yet returned from la belle riviero whither he was Sent by Monsieur de La Galissoniere.⁴⁶

46 See his journal of that expedition, post.— Ed.

Monsieur de La jonquiere will not forget to make him feel How greatly he should Be flattered by such a proof of Confidence in him, and impress upon him the attention he must devote to increase the population of that post and make the inhabitants sedentary. As regards ourselves, we can Induce only the habitants of the government of Montreal to go there by giving them the same advantages as were given the others last spring. Those of the other governments will not emigrate.

Messieurs de la Galissoniere and Bigot had arranged that the houses should Be built In Villages only, with half a League between so that the habitants may be stronger at Home and have less Fear of the savage. We even Sent Our ordinance to that effect. But Monsieur The Chevalier de Longueuil who Commanded there and who has recently returned has assured us that nobody would build on those Conditions, each One wishing to take a Concession where he can find good Soil, or an advantageous situation according to his own ideas; and that if they were hindered in this regard, Detroit would not be Settled.

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We are obliged to rely on the reports of those who have lived in that country, but we will decide nothing on the subject until Monsieur de Celoron is able to look into the matter himself and Report on it to us.

Monsieur de Lajonquiere will Arrange with Monsieur Bigot the instructions to be given that officer.

32

Father La Richardie, Missionary of the hurons at the said post,⁴⁷ has asked as urgently as possible for help in restoring his mission that Was destroyed by the rebellious savages;⁴⁸ Messieurs de La Galissoniere and Bigot considered such restoration necessary, and The latter gave the said Missionary the 5000 livres he asked. We know that the repairs of this Mission are well advanced. One can get even the slightest amount of work done in that country only by dint of cash payments; the workmen being unwilling to Be paid in Montreal.

⁴⁷ For a brief sketch of this missionary see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p, 102, and index.— Ed.

⁴⁸ The mission for the Detroit Huron (Eng., Wyandot) was established in 1728 on the east shore of the river at a site known as La Pointe de Montreal, now within the limits of Sandwich, Ontario. The establishment consisted of a Church, mission house, store, and farm. During the rebellion of 1747, the buildings were considerably damaged, and the removal of the mission was contemplated. Father la Richardie, however, returned in 1748, and superintended the repairs here authorized. See his accounts in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896–1901), lxx; all citations in the present volume are from this edition. The church stood until the middle of the nineteenth century; part of the mission house is still occupied. Hubbard, *Memorials*, p. 134.— Ed.

It would Be very desirable that habitants should be Settled at Michilimakinac with a resident Commandant to keep them there, and increase the population of the country,

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who would have authority over all the Northern posts; but the poor quality of the soil of that country does not permit of it.

We have The honor to Be, with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

Laionquiere , Bigot .

Quebec , October 5, 1749.

33

1749: ARRANGEMENTS FOR LA BAYE, AND A POST AMONG THE SIOUX; FORT AT TORONTO

[Letter from La Jonquière and Bigot to the French minister. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 42.]

Quebec , October 9, 1749.

Monseigneur —Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere told us, previous to his departure, that he had promised the savage nations in the Neighborhood of the post of la Baye des puants, that the said post should not be famed out any longer and that it should be exploited by means of licenses. He gave this promise upon those savages representing to him that the farmers of the said post took advantage of their needs, and made them pay very dear for the goods they required, and, as we learned that this compelled them to carry their furs to the English who do everything in their power to induce them to do so, we deemed it our duty to carry out that promise.

The Sieur Marin, the elder, told us that the Sioux had urgently asked him that a post be established in their country. He observed to us that those Savages are very powerful, and that, as they have a great inclination for the French, it would be advisable to grant their request, to secure them to our alliance, And, moreover, that by means of that

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establishment we might push our discoveries much farther Toward the West.⁴⁹ We considered that our Zeal for the King's Service should lead us to adopt this suggestion, and we are making arrangements to give the said Sieur Marin the assistance he needs for founding that establishment, which Le has undertaken, as he knows 3

⁴⁹ The post among the Sioux had always been considered useful as a starting point for Western discovery. Perrot's Fort Antoine (1689) was the scene of taking possession of the West in the name of the French King; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 35, 36. Fort Beauharnois (1727–29) was built as part of the project of a search for the Sea of the West; see *Id.*, xvii, pp. 22–28. This post was re-occupied from 1732–37, and for the fourth time was rebuilt in 1750, only to be abandoned six years later, when the French and Indian War caused the withdrawal of the garrison.— Ed.

34 that country and is greatly beloved by those nations. This will have a good effect with regard to the trade that may be carried on there in the future. He has asked us for some canoes, And for something to be given as presents to that nation, as well as for some soldiers to guard the posts he will establish; this we have granted him.

In consequence of information we have received that the savages of the North generally pass by Toronto on the West shore of lake Ontario, 25 leagues from Niagara and 75 leagues from fort frontenac, in order to carry their furs to Chouaguen, We thought it would be very advisable to establish a post at That place and to Send there an officer, 15 soldiers and several workmen to erect a small fort of palisades.⁵⁰ This will not entail much expense because timber is abundant in the vicinity and the conveyances of the other things can be done by means of the barks of fort frontenac.⁵¹ We cannot take too many precautions to prevent the said Savages from continuing to Trade with the English, and, in order that they may find what they need at that post, as cheap as at Chouaguen, We shall allow some canoes to go there with licenses, and we shall use the money derived therefrom in giving a gratuity to the officer who is to Command there.

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50 The post at Toronto, built in 1749, was named Fort Rouillé, for the French minister of the marine. It was maintained for about ten years. In 1757 a disturbance arose among the Indians of the post, when Pouchot, the Niagara commandant, sent Captain de la Ferté and fifty men to reinforce the garrison. Remains of the foundation for this fort were visible as late as 1879, and its site in the present city of Toronto is marked by a cairn.— Ed.

51 For this fort see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 321.— Ed.

It is likewise advisable to order the Commandants of Detroit, Niagara And fort frontenac, to see that the merchants and storekeepers established at those posts sell their goods for two or three years in the future, at the same prices as the English, And by this means the savages will get out of the habit of going to Chouaguen, Which will compel the English to abandon that post. If any new Idea should occur to us that can contribute to the fall of Chouaguen, we will carry it out.

We remain, with very profound respect Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servants,

Bigot . Laionquiere ,

1749: PROMOTION FOR A WISCONSIN OFFICER

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Nov. 4, 1749. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 218.]

Quebec , November 4, 1749.

Monseigneur —The Sieur Denys de la Ronde, Ensign in full, has just arrived from one of the Northern posts where He was in command.⁵² He has represented to me that 15 officers who were his juniors have been promoted over him, which is all the more unfortunate, since he was 14 years a cadet with Aiguillettes and 8 years a second

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Ensign. This reason, Added to the good qualities of that officer, Leads me to Beg you, Monseigneur, to be pleased to grant him the Reversion of the first Lieutenancy that may become vacant. This favor seems to me all the more just because Madame de la Ronde⁵³ is a poor widow and has no other means of livelihood than the pay her children get in the King's service.

⁵² Philippe Denis de la Ronde, eldest son of Louis (for whom see *Ibid.*, pp. 299–309, 335), attained the rank of captain in the Canadian army and was killed before Quebec in the spring of 1760. See *Id.*, vii. p. 345.— Ed.

⁵³ For this person see *Id.*, xvii, p. 477.— Ed.

I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Laionquiere .

If you accept the suggestion I had the honor to make you with reference to the Chevalier de Repentigny,⁵⁴ you will be

⁵⁴ Louis le Gardeur, Chevalier de Repentigny, was born in 1721. Having entered the colonial army as ensign (1742), he was in the following year stationed at Fort St. Frédéric. During King George's War (1744–48) he distinguished himself as a partisan, ambushing a force near Albany (1746), and raiding Schenectady (1748). In 1750, De Repentigny received the concession of Sault Ste. Marie, where he was occupied until the French and Indian War (1754–63). During the siege of Quebec (1759) he commanded under Lévis, and was noted for gallant conduct at the battle of St. Foye (1760). After the cession of New France to England, De Repentigny retired to France (1764). In 1769 he was commander at the Isle of Ré, serving until 1778, when he accompanied his regiment to the West Indies, and served for a time in Georgia, being commandant until 1782 at Guadeloupe. In 1783, having attained the rank of brigadier, he was made

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governor of Senegal, in West Africa. He died (1786) while on a furlough at Paris, but his heirs remained in Guadeloupe. Later they brought suit in the United States courts for the seigniority of Sault Ste. Marie; see *post*.— Ed.

36 able, Monseigneur, to grant his Lieutenancy to the Sieur de La Ronde.

1749: CÉLORON'S EXPEDITION DOWN THE OHIO.

[Translated from Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissement des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1886), vi, pp. 666–726.]

Journal of the Campaign that I Céloron, chevalier of the royal military Order of St. Louis captain commanding a detachment sent down the Beautiful River, made by the orders of Monsieur le marquis de La Galissonnière, governor-general of all New France and the country of Louisiana .

[Synopsis : Left la Chine June 15 with a detachment of one captain, eight subalterns, six cadets, one chaplain,⁵⁵ twenty men of the troops, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and

⁵⁵ The chaplain was Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamp, professor of hydrography in the Jesuit college at Quebec. Born in 1707, he came to Canada in 1741, remaining in his professorship until the fall of the colony. He then returned to France, dying (1790) in Brittany. The journal of his voyage is published in *Jesuit Relations*, lxi, pp. 150–199.— Ed.

37 thirty Savages—as many Iroquois as Abenaki. Camped at Point Claire.

The 16th at Soulanges, several canoes being destroyed in the rapids.

The 17th at the Cedars, where Monsieur de Joncaire⁵⁶ was shipwrecked, and one man lost.

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56 Philippe Thomas Joncaire, eldest son of Louis Thomas, was born in 1707 and reared in the Seneca country. By 1729 he had become ensign, eventually (1751) attaining the rank of captain in the colonial army. In 1734, when his father was sent among the Shawnee, Philippe succeeded to the latter's position of influence among the Seneca. His trading house was at Niagara, whence he frequently accompanied chieftains to Montreal, and exerted himself to neutralize the influence of Sir William Johnson. After accompanying Céloron's Ohio expedition, he appears to have returned to the Niagara frontier, where Croghan met him in 1751, and Washington in 1753. Successful in winning the Ohio Indians to the French cause, he served as captain and official interpreter throughout the French and Indian War, signing (1759) the capitulation of Niagara. Retiring to France, he appears to have returned to Canada in 1764. His brother Daniel, usually known as Sieur de Chabert, retired to Detroit, and became an English citizen, his sons serving against the Americans in the War of the Revolution.— Ed.

The 18th at the entrance of lake St. Francis, resting and drying goods.

The 20th, mounted the Long Sault.

The 25th, arrived at a new French establishment made by the Abbè Piquet, where a picket fort was but little advanced.⁵⁷ Two of his Onondaga accompanied the expedition.

⁵⁷ For this priest, and his establishment on the site of the present city of Ogdensburgh, N. Y., see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 371.— Ed.

The 27th, arrived at five in the afternoon at fort Frontenac.

The 30th, left for Niagara. At Quinté met Monsieur de La Naudière⁵⁸ returning from the Miami country. He reported that the tribes at Detroit apprized of the expedition were ready to join it at the first invitation. Hastened to rejoin Monsieur de Sabrevois going as commandant to Detroit.⁵⁹

58 For this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 223.— Ed.

59 Clement Sabrevois de Bleury, an efficient Canadian officer. By 1727 he had received his lieutenancy, and in 1742 was made captain. In 1747 he had relieved Céloron at Crown Point, and was going to relieve Longueuil at Detroit, and conduct a party of habitants thither. In the spring of 1750 he returned to Montreal, where he became adjutant. During the French and Indian War he commanded Canadian militia, his ability and skill being highly praised by his superiors. In 1759 he was major of troops at Montreal; upon the cession of New France, retiring to the mother country, where he lived upon a royal pension until his death in 1774.— Ed.

38

July 6th, arrived at Niagara⁶⁰ and overtook Monsieur de Sabrevois. Wrote to the chevalier de Longueuil not to defer the departure of the Detroit Indians if they wished to join the expedition at the Sioto from the 9th to the 12th of August.

⁶⁰ Although several attempts were made by the French to secure a foothold upon the Niagara frontier, none were permanently successful until Joncaire secured permission (1720) to erect a storehouse, which was known as "Magazin royal." Six years later Fort Niagara was built, under the direction of the engineer Chaussegros de Léry, with materials brought in part from Fort Frontenac by vessels built there for the purpose. This French post was situated on the point of land at the mouth of the river, on the east bank. Portions of the stone work are yet visible. A garrison was maintained here, and the fur-trade carried on for the account of the king. In 1759, the English forces led by Sir William Johnson captured the fort, then under command of the French officer François Pouchot.— Ed.

Having portaged the falls of Niagara, entered Lake Erie the 14th. After laboring in a strong gale, reached the Chatakoin portage on the 16th. Sent a party ahead to clear the road. This place would not be advantageous for a fort, as there are no native villages near.

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The 17th–22nd, occupied with the portage, coming out on Chatakoin Lake.⁶¹

⁶¹ They entered Chautauqua Creek, which Bonnécamp calls Apple River, ascended it about five miles, and then portaged across six miles to Chautauqua Lake.— Ed.

The 23d saw spies, who when perceived concealed themselves in the woods.

The 24th left the lake and entered Chatakoin River,⁶² which

⁶² Now called Cassadaga Creek, into which flows Chautauqua Lake outlet.— Ed.

³⁹ was so low that the larger part of the baggage had to be portaged.

The 25th held a council of the officers, and determined to send by Joncaire a pacifying message to the Savages at Paille Coupée.⁶³

⁶³ Paille Coupée (Broken Straw) was an important village, chiefly of Seneca, situated on the north bank of the Allegheny, about nine miles below Conewango Creek, and just below the small stream now known as Brokenstraw in Warren County, Pa. This village would appear to have been a recent settlement of the Seneca.— Ed.

After many difficulties entered the Beautiful River⁶⁴ the 29th, where a leaden plate with an inscription was buried.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The name Beautiful River (Fr., La Belle Rivière) was given to the entire course of the Allegheny and Ohio, from the source of the former to the mouth of the latter. The expedition entered the Allegheny where the town of Warren, Pa., now stands.— Ed.

⁶⁵ This first plate, buried at the mouth of Conewango (Tchadakoin) Creek, July 29, 1749, was very soon disinterred by the Indians, and carried to Sir William Johnson; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vi, pp. 605–611, and *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v, p. 508; a facsimile is given in the former. In Céloron's journal the place of interment is given as the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaouagon; this, together with the report of the Indians that the plate

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was stolen from Joncaire, makes it seem at least possible that there were two plates—one prepared for inhumation and then stolen, and a second actually buried. See O. H. Marshall, “De Céloron's Expedition to the Ohio in 1749,” in *Magazine of American History*, ii. pp. 131–137. We are inclined, however, to think that but one plate was made for this locality.— Ed.

Passed to the village of Kanaouagon,⁶⁶ whose chiefs were invited to attend the council at Paille Coupée. Reached that village the 30th, where the Indians were in terror about to take to the woods, when Joncaire arrived to reassure them. A council was held, at which was delivered the governor's message desiring them to break off all relationship with the English.

⁶⁶ A small village Just below the site of Warren, Pa. Bonnécamp calls it Kananoungan, later Anglicized into Conewango.—ED.

The 1st of August came to a small village of Loups and 40 Renards,⁶⁷ where only one man was left, the rest having fled. Farther down came to another small Loup village. A council with the Loups was held, the next day, at a larger village.

⁶⁷ The Loups were probably the Delawares, large portions of which tribe had, about this time, begun to remove to the Allegheny from the eastward. One of their clans was called the Wolf (Loup), known to the English as Munsee. The Mahican, who were also known by the French as Loups, were mingled with the Delawares. It is interesting to find Renards (Foxes, Outagamie) so far from their usual Wisconsin habitat.— Ed.

The 3d continued the route as far as the village at the mouth of River Les Bœufs,⁶⁸ a few miles below which a plate was buried.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Rivière le Bœuf, so called by the French who built a fort (1754) at its mouth, on the site of the present town of Franklin. Since Washington's journey, in 1753, this stream has been known as French Creek. At the time of Céloron's expedition the trading house of John

Fraser stood on this site. Its occupants, warned of the approach of the French expedition, had escaped to the woods. Fraser was a gunsmith who had for several years lived among the Ohio Indians. In 1753, upon the building of Forts Presqu'isle and Le Bœuf, Fraser abandoned his trading house, and removed to the Monongahela, between McKeesport and Pittsburgh. Washington recommended him for a lieutenancy in the Virginia regiment under Capt. Adam Stephen. After Ensign Ward had been driven from the forks of Ohio by the French expedition that erected Fort Duquesne, Fraser and Stephen were tried by courtmartial for absence at the time of stress. Both were acquitted, Fraser on the ground that Washington had promised that he might continue trading at his post. Fraser afterwards served as captain of guides in Forbes's campaign, removing his family back to Cumberland, Md., after two had been captured (1755) by Indians. He finally settled near Ligonier, Pa., and there died early in 1774, leaving a widow and seven young children. For a letter of Fraser's, see *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v, p. 659.— Ed.

69 This plate was buried at the foot of a rock which had an Indian inscription; see H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States* (Phila., 1851–57), iv, p. 172, and plates 17, 18. The plate fell into the possession of Gov. Thomas Pownall, and one of the phrases was by him interpreted to mean “Trois Rivières,” which he supposed referred to the forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh); see Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, pp. 273, 274. What he interpreted as “3 rivières dessous la rivière au bœuf ce 3 Aoust,” and which he says was “scratched with the point of a knife and scarcely legible,” was in reality “4 lieus au dessous,” etc.—compare Céloron's journal in Margry, vi, p. 684. The journals of neither Céloron nor Bonnécamp mentions the burial of a plate at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela.— Ed.

41

The next day Joncaire was sent in advance to the village of Attigné,⁷⁰ where the expedition arrived on the 6th. This was found deserted, so proceeded on past the former village of the Chaounons, which had in 1745 been abandoned by Chartier and his band.⁷¹ Here were met, returning to Philadelphia, six English engagés with fifty horses and about

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a hundred and fifty packs of peltry. These were ordered to retire by means of a written message, a letter being sent by them to the Governor of Philadelphia, protesting against the English trade in that region.⁷²

⁷⁰ This should be Attiqué, a village at the mouth of Kiskiminitas Creek. A. A. Lambing, in *Catholic Historical Researches*, 1886, identifies this village with Kittanning, claiming that Céloron does not mention the latter. He is here, we think, in error, for the French officer speaks of villages of both Loups and Iroquois, on the heights of the river passed on August 5. Parkman likewise identifies Attiqué with Kittanning. But see map of Anville (1753), with both names found thereon, the latter of which must be at Kiskiminitas. See also *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, 1035, x, 901.—Ed.

⁷¹ For the identification of this town see “Weiser's Journal,” in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 23, 25, notes 14, 18.

For Chartier and the Shawnee removal, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 331, 448.—Ed.

⁷² For this letter see *N. Y. Colon, Docs.* vi, p. 532, and *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v, p. 425.

The governor of Pennsylvania was James Hamilton, born in Philadelphia in 1713, son of a prominent lawyer. He was likewise educated for the legal profession, and in 1748 appointed lieutenant-governor of the province. Owing to difficulties with the Quaker party, he resigned in 1754, but was re-instated five years later, retaining the governorship four years longer. He died in New York in 1783.—Ed.

The 7th passed a Loup village, where only three men remained; later another village known as “Written Rock,” where lived Iroquois governed by a chieftainess who is entirely devoted 42 voted to the English. Six traders found there, were ordered to retire. This is one of the most beautiful places seen on the Beautiful River, thus far on the journey.⁷³

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73 The Loup (or Delaware) village was Shannopin's Town, a well-known Indian village within the limits of the present Pittsburgh. It was situated upon the southeastern side of the Allegheny, extending thence toward the forks. Shannopin's was a trading village, known to the English as early as 1730. The chief from whom it took its name died about 1749. The second village was a Seneca town ruled by Queen Aliquippa. The first mention of this chieftess is in 1701, when she visited William Penn at Newcastle. Weiser dined with her in 1748. When Washington visited the Ohio in 1753, she had removed her village to the mouth of the Youghiogheny. Thence she joined him, with her son, at Fort Necessity (1754). This son accompanied Braddock (1775); the aged chieftess had by that time removed to five miles east of Raystown, near Bedford. Several geographical names in this vicinity take their nomenclature from her. She is conjectured to have been of Conestoga stock. See W. H. Egle, *Notes and Queries* (Harrisburgh, 1895), 2nd series, p. 460.— Ed.

The 8th arrived at Chiningué, where precautions were taken in case of hostilities, which as was afterwards discovered had been planned. It was thought best to temporize and treat with rather than attack this village of hostiles, composed of Iroquois, Chaouanons, and Loups.⁷⁴ Mingled with these

74 Chiningué (Shenango) was known to the English as Logstown, and at this period was an important centre for Indian trade. Apparently founded about 1743 for purposes of English trade, Croghan had a trading house therein, when Weiser made his journey of 1748—the first official visit beyond the Alleghanies. Croghan was here in 1751, and outwitted Joncaire, and in the following year an important treaty was held at this place. Washington was there in 1753, and some time thereafter, the tide having turned in favor of the French, the latter built log-houses for the inhabitants on a neighboring bluff. Post in 1758 found the place deserted, as also Bouquet (1764), and Beatty (1766). It continued, however, to be a prominent trading place. John Gibson had a commercial house here in 1775, but it was abandoned two years later, and the site deserted until Wayne's campaign

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(1792–94), when his camp, Legionville, was established in the neighborhood. The site was just below the present Economy. The Indian name of the place was Maughwawame.— Ed.

43 were Indians from other tribes, making a very bad village seduced by the cheapness of English goods. Called the English traders, and required them to depart from the Beautiful River, sending a message by them to the governor of Carolina.⁷⁵ The Indians in council made a conciliatory reply, with which the governor of New France would be satisfied if one could believe in their sincerity; but it is to their interest to trade with the English, whose goods are so much cheaper than those of the French. They promised, however, to visit Onontio the following spring, and after giving them a considerable present. the expedition continued down the river, meeting on the 12th two English pirogues from Saint Yotoc. Hoped to find the wild cattle abundant, as the governor had reported, in order to refresh a number of sick men in the company, who were living wholly upon biscuit; but the Indians who were sent out to hunt found only a few deer.

⁷⁵ The message, also sent to the governor of Pennsylvania, is printed in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vi, p. 582; *Penn. Colon. Arch.*, 2nd series, vi, p. 66. The governor of North Carolina was Gabriel Johnston, a Scotchman, who held the office from 1734 until his death in 1752.— Ed.

The 13th buried an inscribed plate at the River Kanououara; and on the 15th, one at the mouth of Yenanguakonon River.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ It is not known that the first plate, probably interred at the mouth of Wheeling Creek, has ever been found. The plate buried at Yenanguakonon was discovered by some lads at the mouth of the Muskingum in 1798. Not knowing its value as an historic relic, they used part of it for making bullets. Rescued at last by Paul Fearing, it passed (1821) into the hands of Caleb Atwater, who sent it (1827) to Gov. De Witt Clinton. It finally passed into the care of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. An illustration thereof is

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to be found in Samuel P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History of Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1848), p. 20.
— Ed.

The 18th camped at noon on account of rain, and buried another leaden plate, at the mouth of Chinondaista River, which is navigable for forty leagues and rises near Carolina.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ The Great Kanawha River. The name upon the plate is Chinodahichetha. This plate was discovered by a boy in April, 1846, and is now deposited with the Virginia Historical Society, at Richmond. See accompanying illustration.— Ed.

44

The 20th again set out, encountering a Leap Indian returning from war with the tribe of Chien; to him provision was given to last as far as Chingué. He reported that there were eighty to a hundred cabins at Saint Yotoc.⁷⁸ The Indians of the detachment fearing to approach this town, Messieurs Joncaire and de Niverville,⁷⁹ with an Indian escort, were sent in advance to announce the arrival of the expedition.

⁷⁸ Saint-Yotoc appears to be a misreading of Sinhioto (or Scioto), the Shawnee town at the mouth of the river of that name. See *ante*, note 7.— Ed.

⁷⁹ Niverville belonged to the Boucher family. Jean Baptiste Boucher, Sieur de Niverville, had three sons, the most famous of whom was Joseph, known as Chevalier de Niverville. Born in 1715, he was made ensign in the army (1743), and was a well-known partisan in King George's War (1744–48). He was influential with the Abenaki Indians, and led a raiding party into New England (1747) that attacked Fort Massachusetts without success. After this voyage with Céloron (1749), Chevalier de Niverville was detached to accompany Le Gardeur de St. Pierre as second in command of the Post of the Western Sea. Under his orders Fort La Jonquière was built on the upper Saskatchewan, not far from the site of the present Calgary, but De Niverville's illness prevented further exploration. Soon after Braddock's defeat (1755), De Niverville led a raiding party against Fort Cumberland,

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Md., and did much damage. He commanded Indians at the siege of Fort William Henry (1757), and during the following year was in command of Fort Machault in Pennsylvania. At the siege of Quebec (1759) he was employed in scouting operations, and in 1763 was awarded the cross of St. Louis "for distinguished services."— Ed.

The 22nd we encountered Joncaire returning with seven Iroquois and Chaouanons. He had been received in a hostile manner, and had only been saved from death by the good offices of an Iroquois chief. The Indians of the village were frightened at the approach of the expedition, and so badly disposed toward the French that in forty-eight hours they had erected a picket for defense.

The situation was serious, two thirds of the detachment being composed of raw recruits, moreover short of provisions, the

LEADEN PLATE BURIED BY CÉLORON Found at mouth of Great Kanawha River, and now in possession of Virginia Historical Society. From photograph recently taken for the present volume

45 canoes sadly in need of repairs, and no other course possible but to advance. The officers, however, and about fifty of the men, were trustworthy.

When about quarter of a league from the village the expedition was discovered, and salutes fired. After considerable negotiations the chiefs agreed to come next day to Céloron's camp across the river⁸⁰ to listen to his message. After the Indians had returned to their own village, guards were set, and the rounds carefully made during the entire night at the camp. At the native village, besides the Chaouanons and Iroquois of which it was composed, there were several Indians of the Sault St. Louis mission, some from that of the Lake of Two Mountains, as well as Miami, Loups, and some from nearly all the tribes of the Upper Country, all entirely devoted to the English.

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80 Céloron's camp was apparently on the east side of the Scioto, where Portsmouth now stands, while the village lay on the west bank; some of the cabins were probably on the south side of the Ohio.— Ed.

A council was held the following day, during which a Chaouanon came in, saying that all the tribes of Detroit were advancing against: their village, and would destroy it while the chiefs were being amused in council. With considerable difficulty Céloron assured them of the contrary, calmed their minds, and continued negotiations. Joncaire reported that the alarm arose from the approach of a party of Outaouas, who were coming as messengers from Monsieur de Sabrevois at Detroit.

The 24th the chiefs came to a council, where they made a vague and unsatisfactory reply to Onontio's messages. Céloron called the English traders and summoned them to retire, writing to the governor of Carolina, according to instructions, that traders from his territory would be in danger if they came hither again.

Although Céloron had orders to pillage the goods of the English traders, he was not strong enough for that, as they 46 were well established in the village, and sustained by the savages.

The Outaouas sent by Monsieur de Sabrevois came bringing letters stating that Monsieur La Naudière was mistaken concerning the disposition of the Indians at Detroit, who could not be persuaded to march. Having written to Monsieur de Sabrevois to send twenty canoes below Detroit with provisions, by October first, the messengers were dispatched homeward.—Hereafter, the full text of the Journal is followed.— Ed .]

The 26th I left Saint-Yotoc at ten o'clock in the morning. All the Savages were under arms and saluted as I passed before their village.

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The 27th I arrived at White River about ten o'clock at night. I knew that three leagues in the interior there were six cabins of Miamis, which caused me to camp at this place.⁸¹

81 For this village and its location see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 475.— Ed.

The 28th I sent Monsieur de Villiers⁸² and my son to these

82 This was probably Louis Coulon de Villiers (1710–57). The several sons of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers, who was killed at Green Bay in 1733, had much experience in the Western country. Their identity has been confused; but in the careful study of Abbé Amédée Gosselin, in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (Lévis, 1906), xii, is to be found the statement of their services. By this it will be seen that the son, who carried news of the defeat of the Foxes (1730), and who commanded at La Baye upon his father's death, also at St. Josephs (1740–43), was not Louis, but Nicolas Antoine fils (1708–50). Louis, later known as “Le Grand Villiers,” was with his father at Fort St. Josephs in 1729 and 1731. In 1732 he became a second ensign, and was probably at Green Bay (1733), since his father was there accompanied by his six sons. In 1739 he was with Longueuil on the Chickasaw expedition, and with his elder brother in Acadia (1746). Feb. 10, 1749, he was in Montreal, also in 1750 upon returning from this expedition with Céloron. His rank at this period was lieutenant. In 1750 he was assigned to command at Fort Miami, and after the customary three years of service returned to Montreal, where he married December, 1753. The following year, having become captain, he led a detachment to Fort Duquesne, and secured the capitulation of Washington at Fort Necessity. The next year he was commandant at Niagara, and in 1756 distinguished himself in the capture of Fort Oswego. His last campaign was that of Fort William Henry, for which he received the decoration of the cross of St. Louis. Dying of smallpox Nov. 2, 1757, he was buried in the cathedral at Quebec.— Ed.

47 cabins to request those Savages to come and speak with me. They brought them and I engaged them to come with me to the village of la Demoiselle, where I was about to go to carry the message of their father Onontio. They consented to this and asked me to wait

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until the morrow in order to give them time to go and prepare for their journey. There are in this same village two cabins of Sonnontouans; the policy of these tribes is to always have some of the latter with them who are shields for them. I engaged one of the Sonnontouans who speaks miami well to come with me to the home of la Demoiselle. I had need of him, having no interpreter for that language, and I had matters of consequence to treat of with the Miami chief.

The 29th I wrote to Monsieur Raimond,⁸³ captain and commandant at the Miami fort, and begged him to send me a certain Roy, an interpreter,⁸⁴ with as many horses as he possibly could to transport our baggage over a portage fifty leagues in length.

83 For the services of Captain Raymond see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 477.— Ed.

84 Pierre Roy, alleged to have been the first white man to settle on the site of Detroit, married (1703) a Miami Indian woman named Marguerite Ouabankikoue. They had two sons, Pierre being born in 1706, and François in 1713. Probably the interpreter here desired, was one of these sons.— Ed.

The 30th, the Savages of White River having come, I embarked in order to arrive at Rock River, at whose mouth I had a leaden plate buried and the arms of the King attached to a tree, concerning which I drew up an official report.⁸⁵

85 Great Miami River was, Bonnècamps says, also called Rock River, because of its rocky bed. As far as known no trace of this leaden plate has been found.— Ed.

48

Official-report of the sixth leaden plate buried at the mouth of Rock River, the 31st of August, 1749.

“Year 1749, we Céloron, knight of the royal and military order of Saint-Louis, captain commanding a detachment sent by the orders of Monsieur the marquis de La

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Galissonière, commandant general of Canada upon the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Ohio, accompanied by the chief officers of the detachment, have buried on the point formed by the right bank of the Ohio and the left bank of Rock River, a leaden plate, and fastened to a tree the arms of the King, in witness whereof we have drawn up and signed with Messieurs the officers, the present official report.”

This done, I embarked. The shallowness of the water in the river caused me to be thirteen days ascending it.

The 12th the Miamis of the village of la Demoiselle, having learned that I had arrived near them, sent four chiefs to me with peace calumets for me to smoke. As I had half of my people on land, there not being enough water in the river to float loaded canoes, I was informed by Monsieur de Courtemanche,⁸⁶ officer of the detachment, of the arrival of these envoys. I disembarked at the place where they were, and when we had all sat down, they commenced their ceremony and presented to me the calumet; I accepted it. They carried it,

⁸⁶ François le Gardeur de Repentigny Crozille, Sieur de Courtemanche, was born in 1711, son of Charles, Sieur de Crozille and grandson of Jean Baptiste de Repentigny. He early entered the army, and receiving the estate of the elder Sieur de Courtemanche, who died without heirs, was thereafter known by that title. In 1743, he became first ensign, and was second in command at Detroit (1739–43). In 1748 he became lieutenant, and eight years later received his captaincy. That year (1756) he served with Montcalm at Oswego, and the two following years was active in the Lake Champlain region, commanding large detachments of Indians. During the siege of Quebec, he held an important post on Isle d'Orleans. After the surrender, Courtemanche retired to France, living as a pensionaire at Loches until about 1776. His widow, Marie-Louise St. Ours, was still living on the king's pension in 1784.— Ed.

⁴⁹ thereupon, to Monsieur de Contrecoeur, captain⁸⁷ second in command of the expedition, and to all the officers, and to the Canadians who, hungry for a smoke, would

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have wished the ceremony to last longer. The time to camp having arrived, we slept at that place; the envoys remaining with us. I was obliged despite the scarcity of the provisions that I possessed to give them supper. 4

87 Claude Pierre Pécaudy (Pécody), Sieur do Centrecœur, was the third of that name to serve as an officer in New France. Born in 1706 at Contrecœur, he entered the army while young, receiving a commission as second ensign about 1727. In 1734 he was promoted to a full ensignship, and in 1742 became lieutenant. While stationed at Niagara (1744) as second in command, his superior fell ill, and the command of this important post fell to his lot. The governor wrote that he was a wise, talented, and reliable officer, and he retained this position until relieved at his own request in 1747. The following year he became captain, and after accompanying Céloron on this expedition was occupied with garrison duties until sent in the spring of 1754 to relieve St. Pierre on the Ohio. Leaving Venango with a large detachment, he drove Ensign Ward from the half-finished stockade at the site of Pittsburgh. For his summons, see Craig, *Olden Time*, 1, p. 83. It was Centrecœur who sent out Jumonville, and later Coulon de Villiers, against Washington, and received the hostages brought from Fort Necessity. Still in command the following year, he dispatched the forces that routed Braddock, and received the English prisoners at the fort. He is credited with having been humane, and endeavoring to restrain his savage allies. For his success in this campaign he was rewarded with the cross of St. Louis and a pension of 400 livres. Late in 1755, Centrecœur was relieved at Fort Duquesne by Dumas. In 1756 he was prominent in operations on Lake Champlain. There his eldest son was killed by an accidental discharge of his own gun—a mischance which proved a grievous affliction for the father. After this date he undertook but little in military operations, and Jan. 1, 1759, was retired on account of infirmity. After the surrender of Canada, Centrecœur remained in the colony, and was a member of the legislative council of 1775, dying at Montreal, Dec. 13 of the same year. He was twice married, to Madeleine Boucher (1729) and to the widow Morandière (1768).— Ed.

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The 13th I arrived at the village of la Demoiselle,⁸⁸ I had my camp pitched and sentinels placed, and awaited the arrival of the interpreter that I had requested of Monsieur de Raimond. During this time I sounded their minds to know if they were disposed to return to Kiskanon, this is the name of their ancient village.⁸⁹ It seemed to me that they had no great repugnance to this. They had two English engagés in their village whom I made depart. Those who had passed the summer in trading there had already gone away with their effects by the land route; they have paths of communication from one village to the other.

⁸⁸ For this village see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 482. The exact site was at the mouth of Loramie's Creek, on the west side of the Great Miami. Some traces thereof were seen as late as 1790. At the time of Céloron's visit there were but forty or fifty warriors at this village. Its subsequent history will be related *post*.— Ed.

⁸⁹ For the location of this village, which was also the site of the Miami French post, see *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 185.— Ed.

The 17th, annoyed that the interpreter had not arrived and that my provisions were being consumed in waiting, I determined to speak with la Demoiselle by means of an Iroquois who spoke miami well. I showed them the magnificent presents on the part of Monsieur the General,⁹⁰ in order to induce them to return to their village and explained to them his intentions in the following terms:

⁹⁰ See the Miami report of these presents to Gov. James Hamilton of Pennsylvania, in A. T. Goodman, *Journal of Captain William Trent* (Cincinnati, 1871), p. 27: "The French brought them a present, consisting of four half barrels of powder, four bags of bullets, and four bags of paint, with a few needles, and a little thread."— Ed.

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Words of Monsieur the General to the Miamis of la Demoiselle, established on Rock River, and to le Baril established on White River, brought by Monsieur de Céloron, the 17th of September, 1749, by eight branches of porcelain for the two villages .

“My children, the manner that I have treated you, spite of what you have done to the French, what I have given you to 51 maintain your wives and children, ought to prove to you the attachment that I have for you and the sincerity of my sentiments. I forget what you have done and I bury it in the depths of the earth, in order nevermore to recall it, persuaded that you have done nothing but at the instigation of people whose policy is to trouble the earth and to spoil the spirit of those with whom they communicate, and who, without appearing therein themselves, profiting by the unfortunate ascendancy that you have allowed them to gain over you, have caused you to commit faults and engaged you in evil affairs, in order to ruin you in my estimation. It is to enlighten you that I send you my word, listen well and give good heed thereto, my children; it is the word of a father who loves you and has your interests at heart. By these two branches of porcelain I put out the two fires that you have lighted within the past two years at Rock River and White River, I extinguish them in such a manner that there will not appear even a single spark.”

By a collar to la Demoiselle and one to le Baril .

“My children, I come to say to you by these branches of porcelain that I extinguish the two fires that you have lighted within the past two years at Rock River and at White River. By these collars I raise you from your mats, and take you by the hand to bring you to Kikakon, where I relight your fire and make it more enduring than ever. It is in that land, my children, that you will enjoy perfect tranquility and that I shall be present at each instant to give you the marks of my friendship; it is in that land, my children, that you will enjoy the pleasures of life, being the *spot where repose the bones of your ancestors, and those of Monsieur de Vincennes, whom you loved so well and who governed you always* in such manner that your affairs always went well.⁹¹ If you have forgotten the

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91 For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 228, xvii, p. 29. It was the elder Vincennes, who is here referred to; the younger, founder of Post Vincennes having been burned by the Chickasaw in 1736. The elder Vincennes was the founder of Fort Miami, and of great influence among the tribe of that name.— Ed.

52 counsels that they gave you these ashes will recall their memory to you. The bones of your ancestors suffer from your absence, have pity on your dead who desire you again in your village. Go thither with your wives and children; the chief whom I send you, carries my word, and will light your fire anew at Kiskakon in such manner that it will never be extinguished. I will give all the succor that you may expect from my friendship, and consider, my children, that I do for you what I have never done for any other nation.”

Another world by four branches of porcelain and two to le Baril .

“By these branches of porcelain I erect a barrier to all passage to the Beautiful River, so that you shall no longer go thither and so that the English who are the authors of all evil designs may not approach this territory which belongs to me. I make for you at the same time a beautiful road to conduct you to Kiskikon, where I relight your fire. I break off all trade with the English whom I have notified to retire from my lands, and if they come thither they shall have cause to repent.”

By two branches of porcelain to la Demoiselle and two to le Baril .

“When you have done, my children, what I request of you, which is solely for your advantage, I invite you to come and see me, next year, and to receive from me particular marks of my esteem; I give the same invitation to all your brothers of the Beautiful River. I hope that you have one and all sufficient spirit to respond to me as you should, and in order to begin to give you a proof of my friendship I send you these presents to cover your wives and children; I add to these gun-powder and balls that you may live more

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conveniently en route when you return to Kiskanon. Abandon the country where you are, it is pernicious for you, and profit by what I do for you.”

The council finished, everyone retired. They carried the presents to their village where they assembled to deliberate on their replies.

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The 18th at nine o'clock in the morning, they came to make their response.

Reply of la Demoiselle, chief of the Miamis, established at Rock River, and of le Baril established at White River, the 18th of September 1749, by peace calumets:

“It is an ancient custom among us, when we speak of pleasant matters first to present the calumets, we pray you to have the goodness to listen to us. We come to reply to what you have said to us. This calumet is a token of the pleasure that I have in smoking with you, and we hope to smoke this same calumet with our father next year.”

By a collar .

“My father, we have listened with pleasure to your words. We have truly seen that you come only with good intentions. You have brought to our memory the bones of our ancestors, who groan at seeing us in this place and who continually recall us. You prepare for us a fine road to return to our former mats. We thank you for it, our father, and we promise you to return thither the very beginning of next spring. We thank you for the kind words which you have given us, we see in truth that you have not forgotten us. Be persuaded that we shall endeavor always to have only pleasant relations with the Chaouanons. We recollect the good counsel which Monsieur de Vincennes gave us. My father, you address people without spirit and who cannot reply to you, perhaps, as you have hoped, but they speak sincerely to you. It is not with the tips of the lips that they speak to you, but from the bottom of the heart. You have bid us to reflect seriously on what you have said to us; we have done so, and shall continue to do so during the entire winter.

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We hope to have the pleasure of giving you a good word in the spring. If the hunting is abundant, we will repair our faults. We assure you, my father, we will listen no longer either to bad discourse or to evil rumors. Such at present is our intention.”

54

Reply of Monsieur de Céloron to la Demoiselle and to le Baril in the same council .

“I have listened to you, my children, and I have weighed well your words. Whether you have not well understood me, or whether you pretend not to have done so, you have not replied to what I said to you. I proposed to you, on the part of your father Ontonio, to come with me to Kiskanon in order there to relight your fire, and replace your mats; you postpone this until next spring. I should have been charmed to tell your father Onontio that I had brought you back; that would have given him pleasure because of the interest that he takes in whatever concerns you. You have given me your word to come there at the end of the winter; be faithful to your promise. You assure me of this in the strongest manner, and if you fail, fear the resentments of a father who has only too much reason to be irritated against you and who has offered you the means of regaining his good graces.”

Reply to these words by la Demoiselle and le Baril .

“My father, we will be faithful in executing the promise that we have given you; we will return at the end of the winter to our former abode, and, if the Master of life favors our hunting, we hope to repair our past faults. Be persuaded that we do not speak with the tips of our lips, but from the bottom of the heart. We could not at present, return whither you wish to conduct us. as the season is too far advanced.”

The council finished, I detained several old men to try and discover if what they had just said to me was sincere. While I spoke with these Savages, who assured me that all these two villages would return, in the spring to Kiskakon and that what detained them was not having any cabins built where I wished to conduct them, and that whilst hunting in the winter, they would approach their former village and would certainly return thither. Roy,

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whom I had requested of Monsieur do Raymond arrived the 19th. I waited to try, by means of Roy, to induce la Demoiselle with some other chiefs to go with 55 me and relight their fires, and replace their mats at Kiskakon. In this I could not succeed. They kept saying always and assuring me that they would return next spring.

The 20th, all was ready for our departure; we broke camp. After having burned our canoes, of which we could no longer make use, we set out to march by land, each one carrying his own provisions and baggage, except Messieurs the officers, for whom I had procured homes and several men to carry their loads. I had arranged all my men in four companies, of which each had an officer at the right and one at the left. I conducted the right and Monsieur de Contrecœur the left. We took only five and a half days to cover that route, which is estimated to be fifty leagues in length.⁹²

⁹² Father Bonnécamps makes estimate of thirty-five leagues, crossing the river (Loramie's Creek) three times, and at a little more than half way beginning to follow the Maumee River.— Ed.

The 25th, I arrived at Monsieur de Raymond's, who commands at Kiskakon; I stayed only time enough to buy provisions and pirogues to convey me to Détroit.

The 26th I had le Pied Froid, chief of the Miamis established at Kiskakon, and certain other prominent men come to me to whom I repeated in the presence of Monsieur Raymond and the officers of our detachments, what I had said at the village of la Demoiselle and the replies I had had. After having listened with much attention, he arose and said to me: "I hope I am mistaken, but I am sufficiently attached to the interests of the French to say that la Demoiselle lies. My chief chagrin is to be the only one who loves you, and to see all the nations of the South exasperated against the French."⁹³

⁹³ For this chief see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 482.— Ed.

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The 27th, I left Monsieur de Raymond's. Not having enough pirogues for all my people, one party went by land under conduct of several officers and of the Savages who were to guide them through the woods. I spent eight days in passing to the foot of the Détroit straits where I arrived the 6th of October. I found canoes and provisions for my detachment. 56 I should have departed the same day if my Savages would have followed me, but they amused themselves by drinking in the woods of the Miami River; I waited for them the 7th, and the 8th they finally arrived.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ It will be seen by this description that the expedition did not visit Detroit. During the interval of waiting, however, Father Bonnécamps made a hasty visit to his Jesuit colleagues at that place, and gives a favorable description of its situation. See *Jes. Rel.*, lxi, pp. 191–193.— Ed.

The 9th of October, I left the lower end of the straits and spent the night at Point Pellé. During the voyage across Lake Erie, nothing occurred to merit attention. I arrived at Niagara the 19th, where I was delayed for three days by bad weather.

The 22nd, I left Niagara by the Southern shore of lake Ontario to betake myself to fort Frontenac. I spent fourteen days in crossing this lake, during which I had several canoes broken by the impetuosity of the wind, and I arrived the 6th of November at the said fort.

November. I left fort Frontenac. I passed to the establishment of Monsieur Piquet. I had received orders from Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonnière to note the increase that had been made during my voyage. I found only a desert where I had passed at the beginning of July. Since his departure for Montréal his fort had been burned by Savages who were supposed to have been sent by the English at Choueguen, a great meadow of hay had also been burned, and a kind of redoubt which stood in the angle of a bastion was saved, although it had been fired in several places in the underpinning. There were only three men on guard at this fort, of whom one had his arm taken off by the explosion of a musket, which burst in his hands while he was drawing on those who set the fire. I

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enquired whether they knew what tribe had perpetrated this act; they replied that it was two Goyogouins who had passed the summer with Monsieur Piquet and who had been paid by 57 the English to entice his negro from him. I left and passed the night at the foot of Rapide Plat.

The 9th of November I arrived at Montréal, where I rested two days; I went down to Quebec to render an account of my voyage to Monsieur the marquis de La Jonquière. I have been fortunate enough, notwithstanding the fatigues of the campaign and the bad fare and the number of sick, not to lose but one man, who was drowned in the shipwreck of Monsieur de Joncaire.

According to the estimate of Père Bonnecamp, Jesuit and expert mathematician who gave much attention to the route, the journey was 1200 leagues; according to my estimate and that of Messieurs the officers of the detachment it was longer. All that I can say is that the tribes of those localities are very badly disposed toward the French and entirely devoted to the English. I do not know by what means they can be brought back. If force is employed they will be notified and will take to flight. They have a great refuge among the Testes plates from whom they are not so very far away. If we send to them for trade, our traders can never give our merchandise at English prices on account of the costs that they are obliged to incur. Besides I think it would be dangerous to make conditions easier for those who inhabit the Beautiful River than for those of the posts of Détroit, Miamis, and others. It would depopulate our ancient posts and perpetuate the tribes on the Beautiful River, which are convenient to the English governments.

Moreover they have sent there in recent years, but there were less English there then, and they were not accredited as they are today, and if the French traders would speak the truth they would admit that their profits arise only from the trade that they carry on with the English by the exchange of peltries. Wildcat, otter and fisher (pekan) are very cheap in England, and with us they are very high, also in that vicinity these are the only peltries, and there is no beaver. This latter is given in exchange to the English.

A solid establishment would be useful to the colony, but it would be very inconvenient to sustain it because of the difficulties of the road by which to transport provisions and other requisites. I doubt whether it could be accomplished without incurring great expense. I believe myself under obligations because of the knowledge I have acquired of all these parts to place these reflections at the end of my journal, which can be used as may be thought best.

Signed: Céloron .

1750: CONSPIRACY IN THE ILLINOIS

[Letter from the commandant of the Illinois⁹⁵ to Captain Raymond at Fort Miami, dated Fort Chartres, Feb. 11, 1750. MS in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Correspondence générale, C 11, Vol. 97, fol. 392."]

⁹⁵ For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 428.— Ed.

Monsieur —I have The honor to give You Notice of a Conspiracy which is being planned Against Us since last summer at The instigation of The English man,⁹⁶ who is making use of La demoiselle, chief of, the miamis who have withdrawn to La Riviere à la Roche. He has given messages [paroles] to have us attacked both by the Nations of, Ouabache, and by

⁹⁶ The Englishman whose influence over the Indians was feared, and probably exaggerated by the French, was no doubt George Croghan. He had traded at Pickawillany before this time, and in 1750 the French offered a reward for his scalp; see Darlington, *Gist's Journals*. p. 44. Croghan was Irish born, settling in Pennsylvania at an early age, and entering the Indian trade. The French and Indian War ruined his commerce in the far West, but brought him into notice as an Indian agent. In this capacity he was employed by Sir William Johnson until the American Revolution. His loyalty to the Colonial cause was

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somewhat doubted. He died in Pennsylvania in 1782. For a more extended biographical notice, see "Croghan's Journal," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 47–57.— Ed.

59 those who are domiciled with us. This is what I discovered a few days ago:

The rebel⁹⁷ had A Collar given by the Ouyatanons to One named pedagogue, and An English flag to his brother who is of the family of the Rouansas, the first Chiefs of the Illinois.⁹⁸ That message Was Received and sent to the Kaoskias, who Agreed to it. It Was also Sent to the peorias.⁹⁹ The Answer has not Yet Come. La Mouche Noire, who Is a pianguichias chief, is expected Here this spring. He is to bring a Collar as a last message to Carry out the Conspiracy, according to what I have been told. La demoiselle is to Come with his people, and Those of Ceniôteaux¹ to take, in passing, the miamis, the Ouyâtanons, and the pianguichias, that they may all join with our domiciled savages to attack us. There is a Rumor also that our domiciled savages are Inducing the missouris and ôsages to Unite with them. We have only two not very large Bands who do not Consent to this, But they will be compelled by force to declare themselves. When the Blow is struck they are to go and get the English and bring them Here. La demoiselle has given them to understand that they will get goods Cheap.

⁹⁷ This may be a proper name (*Le mutin*), but quite probably it designates the chief of the conspirators, whom the commandant calls "the rebel."— Ed.

⁹⁸ At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Rouensa was head chief of the Kaskaskia Indians. At his village, called Rouensac, was founded the Jesuit mission that became the nucleus of the town of Kaskaskia.— Ed.

⁹⁹ The Kaoskias (Cahokia) and Peoria were Illinois tribes living near the respective villages bearing their names.— Ed.

¹ Another form for the word Scioto, referring to the town at the mouth of that river.— Ed.

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I beg You, Monsieur, to give me Notice if You See that the Nations of Your Section are in Motion, so that I may be able to parry the blow and do you keep on Your guard. On my Part I will have recourse to Surprise.

Last summer we Had three Frenchmen killed on the 60 Mississipy by the Cyoux, and This autumn another with His Slave on the Rivière des mouens by the petits ôsages. I have asked the latter for the murderer. I know not what they will decide. We are having Much trouble in our Territories. I know not what the result will be but I hope to avert everything.

I have the honor to be entirely, monsieur, Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Benoiest de St. Cler .

At Fort de Chartre the 11th of February, 1750.

Copy of the letter written me by Monsieur Benoists, Commandant of the Ylinois, Respecting the Conspiracies which I prevented from being carried out when I was in Command at Miamis, Extracted from My service journal, the original whereof Was Sent to the Court by Monsieur de lajonquière. [Raymond].²

² The above letter was appended to that of Captain Raymond of Oct. 1, 1751; see *post*. It is here placed in its proper chronological position.— Ed.

1750: AFFAIRS IN THE UPPER POSTS

[Letter from the French minister to La Jonquière and Bigot, dated April 15, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but “Amérique, serie B, vol. 91, fol. 16.”]

Versailles , April 15, 1750.

Messieurs —I have received your letters of the first and 9th October last with enclosed documents.

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* * * * *

When Monsieur de La Galissoniere undertook to have the trade of the post of la Baye carried on by means of licenses, I approved of the lease not being renewed. But it would not be surprising if it was the Sieur Marin himself who had induced the Savages to act so as to obtain such change. It is alleged that this is not the first underhand measure of the kind he has been reproached with; and you will have to take steps to find out exactly how matters stand, and report to me.

With reference to the post which, at his suggestion, it was also undertaken to establish among the Seioux, it is to be hoped that they who are destined to form that post will have a happier fate than most of the French who have formerly been sent among those savages. And, knowing as you must, what has occurred there and the little confidence to be reposed in those same savages, you should not have been in haste to enter upon such an undertaking.

[Letter from the French minister to La Jonquière, dated May 30, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 41.]

Versailles , May 31, 1750.

Monsieur —I have received the letters you wrote me on the 20th and 22nd of September last year, concerning what has happened in the posts of the upper country.

After what was written to you respecting the measures you were to take to try and stop the abuses committed in connection with the expenses of those various posts, and which are one of the principal reasons for the deficit in the general expenditure of the colony, you should not have contented yourself with reproaching the Sieur Duplessis Fabert,3 commandant at Michilimakinak for the purchases he claims to have made. And in view of the discrepancy between the high prices paid for such purchases and the abundance

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of all kinds of goods at his post, you should not have hesitated to remove him from his command. It is only by such examples that one can

3 Probably the same officer noticed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 17. He was in command at Niagara, 1745–47, and at Mackinac from 1750–53, where he was the eldest captain in the colonial service. In 1756 he was made major of Montreal, and fruitlessly attempted (1758) to relieve Fort Frontenac. Several of his sons were likewise in service. In 1761 he was in France under the patronage of the Prince of Condé.— Ed.

62 expect to put a stop to such abuses. His Majesty expressly recommends you never to neglect a single opportunity of making an example, and to report on the matter so that he himself may be able to act according to the circumstances. He has, however, approved the orders you have given to the commandants of posts to keep an accurate account of the expenses they are obliged to incur, in which they shall enter the reasons therefor.

As the Ayoüas savages were guilty of the murder of a Frenchman, you were right in ordering the Sieur de Belestre, commandant of the post of the River St. Joseph,⁴ not to accept their submission until they have given up the murderers.

4 For a brief sketch of this officer, see *Ibid.*, p. 459; for a more detailed account by C. M. Burton, consult *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv, pp. 336–340.— Ed.

His Majesty also approves of your having told the commandant of la Baye to urge the Sakis, Renards, and Folles avoines to go to Montreal for their presents, according to custom. It is to be hoped that they have decided to undertake that journey, and that you have succeeded in inducing them themselves to avenge the attack made by some Sauteurs on the Sieur de Vercheres.⁵

5 For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 274.— Ed.

His Majesty also has great hopes that the Sieur de Celoron was able to carry out with his detachment the views that had led Monsieur de La Galissonière to order his march, and

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above all that he has succeeded in driving away from the Belle Rivière the English who were trading in that region and the savages who had attracted them thither.

With reference to the various underhand dealings you learned were to be carried on by Iroquois of the Sault and of the Lake to increase the foreign trade, you did right in notifying those savages that all who should take part in it would be driven away from their villages; and, in fact, there does not seem to have been any better way to restrain them. You will be pleased to report to me all that has occurred.

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1750: AFFAIRS AT LA BAYE; OFFICER DROWNED; THE SIOUX POST

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister. Source, same as preceding document, but "Canada, cor. gén., C 11, vol. 95, fol. 199."]

Quebec , August 18, 1750.

Monseigneur —I had the honor to inform you by the letter I had the honor of writing you on the 9th of October, 1749, jointly with Monsieur Bigot, that in consequence of the promise made by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere to the savage nations of la Baye des Puants to no longer farm out the said post, we should have it exploited by license. I have given the command of the post to the Sieur Marin, the elder, who left on the first of June to go and take possession with two canoes on the King's account, and a detachment of ten soldiers. I had presents for three years placed in the said canoes and these he will distribute to the nations of la Baye, of the Sioux, and the others into whose country he may penetrate.

You were also informed by the same letter that I had intended to have the said Sieur Marin establish a post among the Sioux in accordance with their desire.

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Thus, Monseigneur, all that remains to be done is that I should have the honor to report to you the orders I have given him. I append a copy of the instructions I handed him.

In the first place, I charged the said Sieur Marin to do his best to restore peace and harmony between the nations of la Baye and the Sioux, and to bring about a peace between the latter nation and the Saulteux of Chouagamigon.

Such a negotiation is very important, inasmuch as it is essential for the good of trade and the safety of the French that all those nations should be in perfect accord. There are no officers better able to conciliate their minds than the said Sieur Marin. Moreover, the abundance of goods taken to the said post by the eight canoes that went there under licenses, will contribute not a little to renewing the attachment of those nations to the French. They have already been turned away 64 from their duty by the rebellion and conspiracy that they formed in 1749, when they took up arms against the Sieur de Verchères, then their commandant. For this reason it is necessary that I neglect nothing to renew a feeling of loyalty in them. I trust that the Sieur Marin will have no difficulty in succeeding in this. The folles avoines, the Puants, the Saulteux, the Renarts and the Sioux who dwell in the region of la Baye have assured me of their fidelity and complete submission in the council I held with them at Quebec on the 27th of last month, a copy whereof I append to this.

I had proposed to send the Sieur Marin, the younger, commandant at Choagamigon, as second in command at la Baye, as his father had asked me, and to replace him in the former post by the Sieur Millon⁶ who was in command at la Baye; but, on the one hand, I learned that the said Sieur Millon was dead, and, on the other, the farmers of said Choagamigon begged me to leave them the said Sieur Marin. This compelled me to retain him there, and to send in his stead the Sieur Desjordy Villebon, a second ensign, who is very fit for the position.

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6 Pierre Mathurin, Sieur Millon, belonged to a Door but ancient family in France, and came to Canada as a subordinate officer in the company of Lantagnac. Desiring to remain in the colony he petitioned for office in the colonial army, and in 1733 was made a cadet. In 1738 he was promoted to second ensign, and the following year to a full ensignship; in 1748 he became lieutenant. He had served as a subordinate at Crown Point in 1744, and must have been a good officer to have received command at La Baye in these times of stress. His tragic death, as here chronicled, adds to the historic interest o# the French regime in Wisconsin.— Ed.

The death of the said Sieur Millon was rather tragic. That officer was hunting on the 21st of last October in the lower part of a river half a league from the fort, in a small canoe. As he did not return, the Sieur de Combre, a gentleman cadet who was acting as an officer under his orders,⁷ fearing that he

7 Charles René Desjordy, Sieur de Villebon, is mentioned as aid# de-camp in 1758. He was married about 1752, and in 1754 was at Mackinac. At the close of the war he held the rank of lieutenant, and was drowned on the ill-fated “Auguste,” November, 1761.

Charles Porcheron, Sieur de Combre, was promoted to an ensignship in 1751. Born in Angoulême, France, he was married at Quebec in 1763. He appears to have served on the eastern frontier during the French and Indian War.— Ed.

65 might have met with an accident, had a search made for him. Nothing was found but his overturned canoe at a place called les Islet without rudder, mast, sails. or ropes, and four days afterward some Saulteux of la grosse Isle brought to the said Sieur de Combre the sail of the said Canoe which they had found fastened to its mast at la pointe aux Sables, about two leagues from the fort.⁸ Notwithstanding all the efforts of the said Sieur de Combre, he was unable to find the body of the said Sieur Millon until the 15th of last May. There were many rumors as regards the manner in which he came to his death. He thought he might have been killed by the Savages, but there were no wounds on his body beyond those inflicted by birds, the marks of whose beaks could be seen on the head and

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other parts of the body; so that there is every reason to believe that he was drowned, as the small size of his canoe and the heavy wind that blew on the day of his departure would allow of no other conclusion. The Sieur de Combre who has been in command of the said post since the death of the said Sieur Millon, has performed the duty most satisfactorily and has sent me a very good report on all that has happened. I have every reason to be satisfied with him. He brought here the nations of the said post, and I sent him to take them back to their country.

8 Les Islets were doubtless the small islands not far from the exit of Fox River into Green Bay. Point Sable, still known by the same name, is about six miles below the mouth of the Fox, on the east coast of the bay.

Grosse Isle was Michillimackinac Island, where there was a wellknown Settlement of Chippewa (Saulteur); see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 462, note 4.— Ed.

I return to Sieur Marin. As soon as he has put everything 5 66 in order at the post of La Baye, he will instruct the Sieur Desjordy Villebon to take command during his absence, after which he will go to the Sioux and make every effort to induce them to make peace with the Cristinos and to send back to the Sieur de St. Pierre the son of a Cristinos Chief whom they hold captive. He will correspond with the Sieur de St. Pierre on the subject.

The said Sieur Marin will select the site that may appear to him most suitable for the erection of a stone fort, in which he will have the necessary lodgings built for his garrison and for the voyageurs who will trade with the Sioux. He will distribute to the latter the presents I have entrusted him with on the King's account. I have also given him some medals wherewith to decorate the chiefs of that nation who may be the most influential and the most zealous in favor of the French.

I have not confined myself to the Sioux establishment. I have also ordered the Sieur Marin to start from that post, leaving the command thereof, as soon as he shall have put it in good order, to such person as he may deem suitable, in order to go to the upper Missisipi,

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and as far as its source, both to open trade with the nations dwelling there, and to discover the mines, placers, and minerals dwelling there, and to discover the mines, placers, and minerals that may exist there. It is certain that the trade we might carry on with those nations would be very advantageous, and might hereafter become very considerable, all the more so that, in order to save expense in the conveyance of the furs, it would be easy to send them to France via Louisiana.

The said Sieur Marin will at the same time ascertain from the Savages inhabiting the upper portion of the Missisipi whether they have any knowledge of the western sea and of the means to be taken to penetrate thither.

I have likewise charged him to go or send to the source of the Missouri, and to the height of land of the same to endeavor to find a river flowing towards the west, whereby we may perhaps succeed in discovering the said Western sea.

You will observe, Monseigneur, that all the orders I have 67 given the said Sieur Marin cannot but have a very good effect in every respect.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient servant.

Laionquière .

1750: COUNCILS WITH TRIBESMEN; REPORTS FROM UPPER POSTS

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 20, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 237.]

Quebec , September 20, 1750.

Monseigneur —I have the honor to reply to the letter you did me the honor of writing me on the 31st of May last.

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As Monsieur the comte de la Galissonnière had given the command of the post of Missilimakinack for three years to the Sieur Duplessis Fabert, I did not deem it advisable to relieve him last year, all the more so that he is the senior captain and is exceedingly poor. I reproached him however for his fault in having bought brandy at an exorbitant price when he could have got it cheaper. I warned him that if he gave me the slightest cause of dissatisfaction, I would not hesitate to relieve him and even to have the honor to report to you on his conduct. I am not aware that he has behaved wrongly as yet, but if he abuse my confidence I will recall him and put another commandant in his place. I know, Monseigneur, that it is only by such examples that I can restrain the officers, and you may rest assured that I shall not hesitate to make the same, whenever necessity arises, having nothing more at heart than the fulfilment, on all points, of everything you do me the honor to order me to do.

The Sieur Duplessis reports that the greater portion of the nations in the neighborhood of his post, have gone to the English, passing by Sault Ste Marie, taking ever 300 packages of furs there; that the English are causing collars to be introduced 68 among the nations by the Iroquois, in order to make them dissatisfied with the trade they carry on with the French and make them averse to the latter. I trust their actions will have no untoward consequences thanks to the precautions I have ordered the said Sieur Duplessis to take to avert them. Moreover, in the councils I held at Montreal on the 29th of June and 4th of July last with the Outaouois Kiskakons, Saulteux, Outaouois of the band of la fourche, and other savage bands of the said post, I strongly advised them to have nothing to do with the English, and to trade with the French only. They all seemed to me to be animated with the best dispositions and promised me to remain always faithful to the King's will. I shall be greatly mistaken if they fail to keep their word. I append a copy of the said councils.

You will also find, Monseigneur, hereunto annexed a copy of the council I held at Montreal on the 29th of June with the Poutetouamis and Sakis of the river St. Joseph. As those nations are equally well disposed towards the French, nothing of interest has happened

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at the said post. I had given the command of it to the Sieur de Repentigny, but as you have been pleased to procure him a company in the Louisbourg troops, I have sent him an order to come down early in the spring, and he will leave at once to join his garrison.⁹

⁹ Pierre Jean Baptiste François Xavier le Gardeur, Sieur de Repentigny, was eldest son of the Lieutenant de Repentigny killed (1733) at La Baye. Born in 1719, elder brother of Louis, known as the “Chevalier,” he entered the colonial army as second ensign in 1734; in 1742 he had the rank of full ensign, and in 1748 that of lieutenant. In that year occurred the unfortunate affair so noted in the *Chien d'Or* story, wherein this officer, in a quarrel over lodgings, killed Philibert, a citizen of Quebec. While being tried, he was serving in the army at Fort St. Frédéric and raiding into northern New York. Pardoned by the grace of the king, he was sent to St. Josephs as here indicated, and in 1750, having been promoted to a captaincy, went to serve at Louisburg. While there he took charge of an expedition against Newfoundland, and in 1757 received the cross of St. Louis. After the conquest he retired to France, and became governor of Mahé, in French India, where he died in 1776—Ed.

69

I have already had the honor to report to you, in the letter I had the honor to write you in connection with the mission of the Sieur Marin to la Baye and to the Sioux, on the council I held with the nations of that post, and you will see by their words that they submitted to all I could have desired of them, and that last year a Sakis chief had one of his nephews killed by another nephew to avenge the insult to the French—that is to the Sieur de Verchères, then commandant of the said post.

You will also see, Monseigneur, by my letter of the first of August last, that the mission of the Sieur de Celeron to la Belle Rivière has had quite a different effect from that expected by Monsieur the Comte de la Galissonnière; that, on the contrary, the nations have gathered together in that region, that they are in greater numbers and more angry than ever against the French; and that, although he summoned the English to withdraw

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and forbade them to come back, they nevertheless continue their trade with those nations and even urge them to attack the French. I have nothing to add to what I had the honor to write you on that occasion.¹⁰

¹⁰ See Croghan's report of his councils at Logstown (Chiningué) in *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 53–71.— Ed.

* * * * *

With regard to the other northern posts dependent on Missilimakinack, nothing worthy of note has happened, all is fairly quiet there. The Saulteux of la pointe de Chouagamigon came to see me. They promised me a great deal and to strive to get a collar sent to me that I was told the Saulteux of Sault Ste. Marie had accepted from the English.

I append a copy of their words and of my replies.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Laionquiére .

70

1750: REGULATIONS FOR THE FUR-TRADE

[Letter of La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 29, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 282.]

Quebec , September 29, 1750.

Monseigneur —As the trade of the upper country requires the strictest attention on my part, I have earnestly endeavored to obtain all the necessary knowledge to enable me to strive effectively to make it flourish, by remedying the abuses that have so far crept into it.

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In the first place, I issued an ordinance on the 29th of last May, to put an end to the infringements of the prohibitions inserted in the licenses, to prevent the farmers and voyageurs encroaching upon one another's rights, to stop the coureurs de bois, to forbid the trade carried on by certain voyageurs with the English, and finally to divert the savage nations from the said trade.

At the meeting I held with all the traders of Montreal, I gave them communication of the said ordinance although I had already caused it to be published and posted up, in order that they might know for themselves the line of conduct to be followed by them and by their employees.

The most wily men in the fur-trade did not allow a single article of the said ordinance to pass without raising objections tending solely to their own interest and directly opposed to the good policy I intend to establish. Consequently, I paid no heed to their representations.

I convinced them, however, that I was acting solely in view of the general good of the trade, and that the advantages connected therewith might be mutual. I entered with them fully into the matter as well as into details respecting the farming or the exploitation of all the posts. The more wealthy maintained stoutly that they should be farmed out (a proof of their cupidity); others thought that exploitation by licenses would place everybody in a position to trade and would greatly contribute to attract the nations to us; finally they were 71 united in asking a decrease in the price of the licenses, while those who are best known insisted upon their being reduced to a very small number.

To all this they added that as the supply of the Company's doth was insufficient, this might keep the nations away. The latter reason did not fail to impress me, but how was it possible to satisfy them all when there is so small a quantity of that cloth in the warehouses of the beaver trade? I could not do better than distribute all there was, and promise to deliver them all they needed as soon as the Company's ship arrived.

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Having, in the presence of the said traders, fixed both the number and the price of the licenses, I told them I would send off their canoes in several convoys under the command of officers, who would be going in the same direction, and that they were to prepare themselves so as to lose no time.

But, instead of hastening, they postponed their departure hoping to escape the discipline I cause to be observed. A commandant of a convoy puts them out extremely! The liberty to do as they choose and to get rich no matter how, strongly holds their heart! They are not fond of subordination, and thereby make themselves very liable to it; they have left no means untried to escape it.

As foreign trade has always done considerable injury to the Colony, and as I must make corresponding efforts to abolish it, I issued on the same day, the 29th of May, an ordinance By which I forbade the said trade, and ordered the governors and commandants of neighboring posts to seize all persons, whether French or savages, who may introduce the prohibited goods into the country or export them to New England. I append copies of both ordinances.

The publication by my order of the latter ordinance and the measures I took to have it strictly enforced, did not fail to cause uneasiness among those traders, and the example of the demoiselles Desaulniers,¹¹ who are related by marriage to the

¹¹ The Demoiselles Desaulniers had a store at the mission of Sault St. Louis, where in conjunction with the Jesuit father, Jean Baptiste Tournois, they carried on a profitable but illicit fur-trade with the English merchants at Albany. La Jonquière finally broke up this traffic and sent the two women and the Jesuit to France.— Ed.

⁷² best known among them and who have always been thoroughly in league with them for the carrying on of such trade, did not allow those traders to conceal the trouble caused them by what I have done. They have become rich partly by that illicit trade, either by getting their beaver skins fraudulently conveyed by the Savages to the English, who pay

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them a high price for it; or by obtaining from them cloths and calicoes etc with which there is hardly a house that is not furnished.

I have even heard that they said among themselves that nothing less was wanting but the ordinances I issued to prevent them from increasing their fortunes. Their cupidity is unpardonable. There is probably no country in Europe where a more lucrative trade is carried on.

In fact, apart from what they ship on their own account, these traders fit our voyageurs to whom, in peace time, they give goods at an advance of from 20 to 25 per cent above the usual Quebec rate; they compel them to give them their furs in payment at the rate of the tariff they make among themselves in Montreal, and obtain a profit of from 25 to 30 per cent by selling them in Quebec. Should not this be a sufficient limit for those traders?

My zeal for the King's service and my promptness in informing you of everything, compel me, Menseigneur, to enter into all these details.

I trust that the strict enforcement by the commandants in the upper country of the ordinance I have issued, and the punishment I will inflict on all offenders, will restore order.

It is very likely that I shall have to make an example in connection with article 4 of the said ordinance if what has been reported to me is proven true by the commandant of Detroit, that is to say if I receive a report of the seizure of 200 pieces of English cloth sent, without my knowledge, by the Montreal merchants to the Southern posts. I discovered this 73 fact as follows: As soon as the Company's ship arrived, I sent to Montreal a number of pieces of English cloth, and I gave the merchants permission to forward them to Detroit. This they did not do because there was some of English manufacture there already; and I have been told that, while the merchants were representing to me that the supply of cloth was insufficient, they had the English cloth in their possession and shipped it off quietly during the night.

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Regarding the ordinance I issued with respect to foreign trade, I am sparing no effort to have it produce the desired effect. The chiefs of the savages of the Sault have promised me to denounce the Frenchmen who may employ their people to convey beaver skins to New England, and that they would make them consent to hand me over their cargoes, the confiscation whereof I will grant with a good reward. I do not rely implicitly on that promise and I am having a watch constantly kept to surprise some offender.

That is all I can do. A great deal more cloth is indispensably needed than the Company sends. It should, if possible, be as fine as that of the English, and a little cheaper, while the price of beaver skins should be raised. I admit that these two propositions can hardly agree, but I think the Company would find compensation when the receipts of beaver skins would become greater, when they could sell them dearer and the supplies obtained by the English would be greatly lessened.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Laionquière.

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1750: AFFAIRS AT DETROIT

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Oct. 10, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 282.]

Quebec , October 10, 1750.

Monseigneur—I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of the instructions I gave Monsieur de Celoron, the commandant at Detroit, by which you will see that I know all the advantages of that post, and that I neglect nothing to make it most flourishing.

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The Sieur de Celoron arrived there safely with his convoy. He has not had time to carry out what I ordered him to do by his instructions, nor to send me a very detailed report on Detroit and the conditions of its inhabitants.

He merely writes me that he will set to work to settle the new inhabitants he has taken with him, and will give them every facility in his power to promote their settlement; that, inasmuch as those who were there last year were unable to subsist with their crops, he has continued to supply them with the provisions the King is pleased to allow them until the first of February 1751.

He writes me also that the crop has been fairly abundant, and that grain would have been cheap had not His Majesty been obliged to incur expense for the maintenance of the garrison, of the militia and of the families for which there would not have been enough without the supplies he received from the post of Niagara; that the mills cannot work through lack of water, and that it is expedient to build one on the rouge river.¹² He has suggested to me the name of an individual who would undertake to build it on condition that he be given every facility as regards transport of the necessary mill-stones, and that he have the ownership thereof. Monsieur Bigot with whom I have conferred has agreed with me that it would be more advantageous to have the mill built for the King.

¹² Rouge River is a small stream in Wayne County, just below Detroit— Ed.

Reverend Father La Richardie was to start with some savages ⁷⁵ of note to endeavor to recall the rebel hurons whose chief Nicolas is dead.¹³ I trust his mission will be successful.

¹³ See brief sketch of this chief, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 280.— Ed.

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With regard to other matters, the said Sieur do Celoron has done everything in accordance with what I had the honor to write you in my letter of the first of August last, to which I have nothing to add in connection with the other Southern posts.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Lionquière

1750–51: MARIN'S WESTERN JOURNEY

[Letter from La Jonquière and Bigot to the French minister, dated Oct. 20, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 89.]

Quebec , October 20, 1750.

Monseigneur —We have the honor to reply to the letter you wrote us on the 15th of April last.¹⁴

¹⁴ The omitted portions relate to the post at Toronto, and its efficacy in interrupting the trade with Oswego.— Ed.

* * * * *

We do not think, Monseigneur, that the Sieur Marin induced the Nations of La Baye to ask that that post be exploited by licenses; and, as Monsieur the comte de Laglissonière had adopted their suggestion, Monsieur de Lajonquière could not suspect the Sieur Marin of having any share therein, and he determined to give him his confidence as commandant of that post because he is the most experienced officer to keep those nations in our interest, being loved and respected by them. You will have seen by the reports that Monsieur de Lajonquière has had the honor to send you, that the said Sieur Marin is not to confine

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himself to the command of la Baye, and that he is to hand it over to the Sieur Desjordy Villebon after he has performed the mission entrusted to him by that General.

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The journey the said Sieur Marin is to make to the Sioux country cannot but have a very good effect as regards the interests of the colony. The Nations of that region Are very numerous, And it would have been impossible to find an officer better able to unite Them in friendship with the French. He is known to all those nations, and possesses the faculty of making himself loved and feared by them. He has foreseen no danger of any kind, and has departed in full confidence that he will be able to carry out the instructions of Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquière on all points. All these reasons have urged him to hasten his departure, And we Trust that he Will be well received by those Nations and will inspire them with the dispositions that are desirable for the welfare and the Tranquility of this country. Moreover, this will cost the King only a few presents that have been delivered to that officer to distribute advisedly and sparingly among the Nations into Whose midst he will penetrate.

The Sieur Marin will push His discoveries still further. Monsieur de Lajonquière has ordered Him to go to the Source of the Missisipy River to see whether there is not some river flowing from its water-shed to fall into the Western sea.

We have Had no news respecting The step to be taken by The Company of the Indies in connection with the Beaver Trade in Canada, although we told you we were to receive some.

We remain with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants

Laionquieère Bigot

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[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated sept. 16, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 97, folio 65.]

Quebec , September 16, 1751.

Monseigneur —I had the honor to report by my letter of the 18th of August of last year that I had given the command of La Baye and among the Sioux to the Sieur Marin, captain 77 of infantry; and I likewise informed you of the importance of all the objects of his mission.

The said Sieur Marin, in obedience to my orders, proceeded to la Baye where he re-established harmony between the nations of that post and the Sioux.

Neither among the folles avoines nor among the Puants, did he find any of those worthless and troublesome individuals who have been in the habit of taking refuge there. He told them that they must not harbor any more of them. Those nations replied that, as they could not drive them away by force without exposing themselves to quarrels, they would notify them of my intentions and urge them to withdraw to their own villages.

A numerous band of Puants went on the war-path against the Missouris at the beginning of the month of March. They left without the knowledge of the Sieur Marin, having kept their plans very secret. I hope that, on their return, he will induce them to stop the war and to make peace.

The folle aveine chief called la Mothe,¹⁵ who came to see me in Montreal, promised me he would make every effort to stop those bands. I append a copy of his words and of my replies.

¹⁵ In King George's War, La Mothe led a raid against Albany; see *N.Y. Colon. Docs*, x, p. 122. He founded a prominent family of Menominee chiefs, who probably took their name from some connection with La Mothe Cadillac. La Mothe served under the French in the Seven Years' War, being conspicuous in the siege of Fort William Henry (1757). A chief

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of that name joined the Americans against Black Hawk in 1832, and signed the treaty of 1848. He was known as the second chief of the nation, and leader of the Roman Catholic party in the tribe.— Ed.

Several other war parties had been formed to attack the said Missouris, but fortunately the Sieur Marin heard of it at the beginning of the spring and, with the assistance of a folle aveine chief, he stopped the bands. He also succeeded so well in appeasing those nations that the folles avoines, in their regret at having formed those bands against my will, 78 wanted to strangle a Saulteux of la grosse Isle who had induced them to take that step.

An Outaouois and a Saulteux of Missilimakinack brought English Brandy to those nations. The Sieur Marin seized their casks, as it was to be presumed that this was a present given them by the English. I wrote to Monsieur Duplessis Fabert on the subject who will inform those savages of my displeasure regarding their action.

The Sieur Marin went to the Sioux country, where he explained to them my speech and my intentions.

He was very well received by that nation. It is at peace with the Saulteux, folles avoines, and other nations that wintered on its lands.

A prairie Sioux, while on the war-path against the Illinois, within the past few years, killed a Frenchman called Marin Urtubize.¹⁶ The Sieur Marin wanted to have the murderer delivered over to him. The nation made every possible apology; it had driven away the murderer it was not known that has become of him.

¹⁶ Edward D. Neill, in *Macalester College Contributions*, i, p. 215, notes a probable descendant of this man at Prairie du Chien in 1815. A Pierre Hurtibize is mentioned in Mackinac Register, *post*.— Ed.

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The Sioux handed over to the Sieur Marin the son of the Christinos chief whom they had held captive for some years. The young man did not wish to leave that nation. The Sieur Marin will do his best this year to persuade him to return to his country and the Sioux chiefs not to keep him among them. He will send him back to Monsieur de St. Pierre.¹⁷ I hope the Sioux will not hesitate to conclude their peace with the Cristinos,

¹⁷ It was not until 1753 that this captive was finally returned to his own people. St. Pierre writes, July 10 of that year: "I found at the lake of the Woods, with the Cristinaux of that post, two of their people, who had been a long time prisoners among the Sioux of the Rivers and of the Lakes, who had sent them back to carry their message to the Cristinaux in order to prove to them their great desire to live in concord with them."—Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, vi, p. 650.—Ed.

⁷⁹ as they have not raised any band of warriors against that nation and have promised the Sieur Marin to do his will.

The said Sieur Marin was unable to go to the upper Missisipy, and to its source because the nations of la Baye and the Sioux who came to see me last year, urgently begged him to wait for them at la Baye and those nations only returned very late.

Moreover, he found the nations of La Baye in a state of very great uneasiness; none of the nations wished to withdraw to its own village. A rumor (probably due to the English) had spread that I had detained the last Sioux who visited me in Montreal in order to put them to death; and this had caused such alarm that, to reassure those nations, the Sieur Marin was compelled to remain with them; otherwise there was reason to fear that they might have been guilty of violence against the French.

After the Sioux arrived the Sieur Marin told all the nations how wrong they had been in crediting such a rumor. He reminded them of His Majesty's kindness to them; and left at once to undertake the discoveries I had ordered, but he was stopped by the ice and was compelled to winter at Lake Papin.

He writes me that he will make every possible effort this year to effect such discoveries. The Sioux have promised to accompany him and have told him that it was advisable to wait until Monsieur de St. Pierre had quieted the nations on the Missisipy.

I particularly charged the Sieur Marin to spare no effort to discover a copper mine said to be on the rivière du Ben Seeours,¹⁸ and, if he succeeds in finding it, to send specimens to [Monsieur de Vaudreuil to be forwarded to you.¹⁹

¹⁸ The river Ben Secours has been correctly identified with the present Chippewa River of Wisconsin. But it should also be noted that it is the same stream as that called by the early explorers "River des Bœufs," now known as Beef River (Wis.). The mouth of the Chippewa has shifted since the seventeenth century—see Elliott Cones, *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike* (New York, 1895), i. p. 58—when it entered the Mississippi at the southern end of what is now called Beef Slough. This would make Beef River but a tributary of the Chippewa. Note the description given by La Salle in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 180. On some of the old maps the names are given as alternates, "Bon Secours ou Bœuf" River. Le Sueur in 1700 (*Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184) gives the reason for its name (Goodhelp) in the large number of buffalo and other game found thereon. He also mentions the copper mine from which he claims to have carried ore on a previous voyage. To this alleged discovery is doubtless due the instruction here given to Sieur Marin.— Ed.

¹⁹ Vaudreuil was then governor of the colony of Louisiana.— Ed.

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The Sieur Marin has likewise distributed the presents I had delivered to him last year. He has decorated several chiefs with the King's medal and has impressed them with the greatness of His Majesty's generosity to them.

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Although the nations of la Baye have been much disturbed, the voyageurs have carried on a good trade with their goods at that place and there is every appearance that the trade will increase.

I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Laionquière .

1751: REPORTS FROM THE NORTHERN POSTS

[Letter of La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 17, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 69.]

Quebec , September 17, 1751.

Monseigneur —I have the honor to report to you on the matters of interest that have occurred at the post of Missilimakinack and its dependencies.

I had the honor to inform you last year, by my letter of the 20th of September, of the great quantity of furs taken by the nations of that post to the English, and of the collars the English were causing to be introduced among those nations by 81 means of the Iroquois to divert them from their trade with the French and to indispose them towards the latter.

The orders I did not cease sending to Monsieur Duplessis Fabert in connection with this, have not failed to have a fairly good effect. He succeeded in inducing one Noukouata to break off his relations with the English. He got back a collar he had received from them. This brought about the failure of a plan gob up by a great many of the Warriors to devote themselves entirely to the English, and follow the said Noukouata everywhere if he accepted the position of chief offered him by the English.

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You will see, Monseigneur, by the annexed words of the Kiskakons on the 5th of July, and by my replies, that the said Noukouata seems very repentant for his offence.

I have the honor to send you hereunto annexed the council I held with the Outaouois Sinages on the same day, at which I Asked them and the Kiskakons to strike a blow at our rebels on la Belle rivière. They promised me they would send a band of their young men as soon as they should reach their village. Thereupon I gave precise orders to Monsieur Duplessis.²⁰

²⁰ This shows the origin of the attack (1752) on Pickawillany; see *post.*— Ed.

The said Sieur Duplessis also got possession of a medal, a collar, and an English flag that a Saulteux of note had accepted, together with a collar the English had given the Outaouois.

In obedience to my orders he stopped a band of Saulteux of the Beaver tribe who had sung the war-song at his post.

He did not meet with the same success in connection with the Saulteux of la Grosse Isle, a party of whom went to attack the Illinois at the request of the Poutetouatamis probably from the river of Chikagou, for those of the river St. Joseph did not leave their village.

The most unfortunate part is, that one of the said Saulteux ⁶ 82 killed a Frenchman on the river of the Illinois at le Rocher.²¹ Those Saulteux discovered four cabins of the Illinois and determined to attack them at dawn. There was nobody in those cabins but a Frenchman who was found after a careful search. A savage of the band threw his arms around the Frenchman to protect him, and called out to the others that it was a Frenchman, but he was too late. The Frenchman received at the same instant a gunshot that stretched him on the ground and burned the skin of the savage who tried to protect him. That Frenchman's name was Jean Brossat.

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21 For this landmark see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 100.— Ed.

The Saulteux went in a body to report this unfortunate affair to Monsieur Duplessis in the same terms. They begged pardon of him. He refused to receive their words and told them they must address themselves directly to me.

The Saulteux claim that the Frenchman was killed without premeditation, and that, when the savage was called to, he had already pulled the trigger of his gun.

Nevertheless, Monsieur Duplessis wrote me on the 16th of last month that the murder had been committed through rank treachery; that the Saulteux and the people of l'Isle des poux²² had gone to Chikagou to join the Poutetouatamis who had asked them to unite in a war-party; that they set out and, having met the Frenchman, they ate and drank with him, and then killed him.

22 For this island see *Ibid.*, p. 359— Ed.

I am giving orders to Monsieur Duplessis to tell the Saulteux that I will not allow the death of that Frenchman to go unpunished; that they must absolutely come to Montreal themselves next year to deliver me the murderer at discretion, and that, if they fail to do so, I will avenge the death and grant them no quarter.

Next year I will inquire closely into the matter and, if that savage really committed the deed through treachery, I will have his head broken, such a step being indispensable.

The guard-house to fort Missilimakinack has been destroyed by fire caused by smokers. The damage has been repaired, and each voyageur has supplied a stake for the purpose.

As the fort is in need of many repairs, I have permitted the Sieur Duplessis to have it enlarged on the Lake side, to have a new guard-house built, and some other repairs

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made which will cost the King nothing, as I have given the said Sieur Du, plessis orders to employ therefor the proceeds of the sale of some building lots, and if such moneys be insufficient, he will make the voyageurs contribute in equal shares.

The best news I can have the honor to give you, Monseigneur, is that of the return of the Outaouois Sludges who, for some years past, had taken refuge at Saguinaw where they killed some Frenchmen. Since I have been in the Colony, I have never ceased to order Monsieur Duplessis to take every means to recall them. He succeeded in doing so last spring. He received them very kindly and you will see by their annexed words, dated the 13th of July, how earnestly they sued for pardon, which I granted them.

They told me that another band of the said Outaouois had withdrawn to Detroit where it had been very well received by Monsieur de Celeron to whom I had given the same orders as to Monsieur Duplessis; but Monsieur de Celeron says nothing to me about it.

There are still a number of Saulteux at Saguinaw. The Outaouois Sludges have promised me to make every possible effort to get them to return to their former village at Missilimakinack. Monsieur Duplessis has orders to neglect nothing on his part.

I have given the command of the post at the river St. Joseph to the Sieur de la Corne La Colombière²³ in the place of

²³ Antoine la Corne, Sieur de la Colombière, was born in 1708, one of the brothers in a famous family that faithfully served New France. Becoming a junior officer in 1734, he was promoted in 1739, and in 1748 secured his lieutenancy. The service here noted was apparently his first in a Western fort. In 1753 he was promoted to a captaincy, and was employed in scouting (1756) with a considerable force on Lake Champlain. The next year he was for his services awarded the cross of St. Louis. He was commended by Montcalm as a very zealous officer. At the battle of the Heights of Abraham he was captured by the English, and after that nothing seems known of him. He had married in 1744 Marguerite Petit, widow of Sieur Robert.— Ed.

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84 the Sieur de Repentigny who is to join his garrison at Louisbourg this year.

The said Sieur de Repentigny has told them the trouble he took to prevent the nations of his post from going to avenge the death of the Poutetouatamis killed by the Illinois. He succeeded in doing so. Those nations sent le Crapaud, the sister of the deceased, and an Illinois Chief of the village of St. Joseph, decorated with a medal, to the Illinois to settle the matter amicably. I have no doubt as to the success of their journey because I had already given orders to Monsieur de Benoist St. Clin, the commandant at fort Chartres. to induce the Illinois to send deputies to St. Joseph to cover and weep for the dead, to apologize to the nation and to make peace.

I learned last spring that one of the Poutetouatamis chiefs of St. Joseph who came to see me last year went with his band to Chouaguen after leaving Montreal; that he received a speech from the English on behalf of the Chaouanons, the Misamis, and other nations that have taken refuge at la Belle rivière, with a blue blanket ornamented with porcelain designs and considerable presents to invite them to join their party and betray the French; and that this Chief and his band seemed disposed to meet the views of the rebels. I am giving orders to the Sieur de La Corne to take cognizance of this matter, to prevent its having any consequences, to get back the speech and the blanket and send them to me.

The Sieur de Beaujeu Villemonde,²⁴ commandant at Camanestigouya and Michipicotton has reported to me that, in obedience

²⁴ Louis Liénard, Sieur de Beaujeu Villemonde was brother of the hero of Braddock's defeat. Born in 1716, he entered the army at the age of sixteen, was ensign in full by 1738. and lieutenant in 1744; his captaincy dated from 1751, and the cross of St. Louis was awarded him in 1759. At the beginning of King George's War he was a subordinate at Niagara, and served in Acadia during its later campaigns. After his term of service at Kaministiquia, he was transferred to Mackinac (1753). Displaced by Herbin (1754–57) he returned to this post, where he remained until the surrender of New France (1760) to the English, when he retired via the Illinois, spending the winter of 1760–61 with the

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Sauk and Fox Indians at Rock River. He was reputed to have "made a rapid fortune at the Posts." Visiting France, he returned (1763) via Louisiana to Canada. There he was vigorous (1775) in opposition to the American troops. His home was a roamer at Isle aux Grues. where he died June 5, 1802. His widow, a daughter of Chevalier de Longuenil, died in Montreal in 1803.— Ed.

85 to my orders, he has succeeded in restoring peace and tranquility among the Savages of his post, and in preventing them from going on the war-path against the Sioux. This corresponds exactly with what the Sieur Marin has written me in connection with the matter.

The said Sieur do Beaujeu informs me at the same time that out of forty savages at the post of Michipicotton, thirty-four have died and the remaining six have gone in the direction of Hudson's bay.

Nothing of interest has occurred with regard to the post of Chouagamigon; all is very quiet there.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Laionquière .

1751: REPORTS FROM THE SOUTHWESTERN POSTS

[Letter of La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 25, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 82.]

Quebec , September 25, 1751.

Monseigneur —I have been informed of everything worthy of interest that has occurred in the Illinois country by the letters written to me by Monsieur de Benoist St. Clin,

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commandant of fort Chartres, on the 28th of May, 1750, the 4th of 86 March, 9th and 22nd of May of this year. I shall have the honor to report to you on the same.

I had the honor to inform you, Monseigneur, by my letter of the 8th of October, 1750, that Monsieur de St. Clin had obtained satisfaction for the murder committed by the Petits Ossages²⁵ on the person of a Frenchman called Giguère who was hunting on the upper part of the rivière des Moens; that the nation had put the murderer to death and had sent his scalp to the said Sieur de St. Clin. Since then the Missouris²⁶ have spread a report that the Petits Ossages had killed the brother of the guilty man and that the latter, who had at first disappeared, had returned to the village. When the petits Ossages heard of this, they seized the real murderer and brought him bound to Monsieur de St. Clin. A chief of the Missouris and 15 men of the nation were there; and although they were the first to reveal the mistake of the petits Ossages, they said they had no positive knowledge of it. But the petits Ossages, being sure that the innocent had perished for the guilty, begged

²⁵ The Osage are a large tribe of Siouan stock, who migrated from the mouth of the Missouri, separating from kindred tribes at the river called by their name. They ascended this river. and again divided into Grand Osage (those who camped on the mountain), and Petit Osage (those who camped at the base). The latter occupied the valley of the Little Osage. and the Kansas plains to the westward. The Osage were mentioned by early explorers; Perrot and Le Sueur speak of them in the seventeenth century. Early in the eighteenth they appear in alliance with the Illinois. against the Renards. In 1719 Du Tisé visited this tribe. and the alliance then concluded was strengthened by De Bourgmont at Fort Orleans. They were thus considered French Indians, and under the care of the Louisiana colony.— Ed.

²⁶ The Missouri were of Siouan stock. and once inhabited the mouth of the river that bears their name. About the beginning of the eighteenth century they removed their chief village to the neighborhood of Grand River, Mo., where Fort Orleans was built in their midst. They were a powerful tribe until early in the nineteenth century, when the Foxes and Sauk

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nearly annihilated them with harassing wars. The small remnant retreated to their kinsmen the Oto, and lived among them, finally coalescing with the latter tribe.— Ed.

87 Monsieur do St. C1in to send the Sieur do Perthoaf27 to their village to be a witness of the death of the innocent and of the guilty. Nothing can be added to the submission of those petits Ossages; their rectitude surpasses everything that can be expected of a savage nation.

27 Apparently the second in command at the post. This appears to be Pierre Robineau, Sieur de Portneuf, noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 135. He was second ensign in 1733, full ensign 1741, lieutenant 1748, and captain 1757. Having gone to Louisiana in the campaign of 1739–40, he seems to have remained in that colony. In 1753 he led a detachment from the Illinois to reinforce Marin, but was turned back at the Scioto by the hostility of the Shawnee. After the close of the war, he appears to have made his home at New Orleans.— Ed.

The Grands Ossages, who are as haughty as the petits Ossages are submissive, have met with an unexpected check. The Penis Noirs and Picques28 against whom they are continually at war and one of whose villages they entirely completed the destruction begun by measles and smallpox, begged the assistance of the Laytannes, a nation in the neighborhood of the Spaniards.29 That nation, moved by their condition, joined them and both together came to a village of the grands Ossages at a time when a portion of their people were at the

28 The Pawnee (Pani) Indians were a large tribe located chiefly west of the Missouri, in the present state of Nebraska. They were of Caddoan origin. and at enmity both with the Siouan tribes and the Illinois. The two portions of the tribe here mentioned were known to the Americans as Grand Pawnee and Pawnee Picts. The latter were occasionally designated White Pawnee, hence the antithesis—Pawnee Noirs (black). The Pawnee Picts are commonly known as Wichita. Their habitat in the nineteenth century was a considerable distance southwest of that of the Grand Pawnee, or Pawnee proper.— Ed.

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29 The letans (Laytannes), more commonly known as Comanche, a wandering tribe that inhabited the foothills of the Rockies and the plains to the east. They were in contact, frequently in conflict, with the Spanish of New Mexico. They also were usually in hostile relations to the Pawnee. Of Shoshoni stock, they nevertheless were allied with the Arapaho, Kiowa, and Cheyenne. For a good description see "Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies," in *Early Western Travels*. xx, pp. 341–352.— Ed.

88 Cerne (Surround) killing animals;30 they fell upon them and so sharp was the attack that the grands Ossages lost 22 of their chiefs, while the others left 27 of their people on the field of battle. This action made the grands Ossages reflect; they went to see Monsieur de St. Clin to weep for the death of their chiefs. He gave them a small present to console them.

30 This probably refers to the custom of the plains Indians of hunting buffalo by means of a great park, which they formed with a cordon of trees and stones, and then drove the animals within. See description in *Id.*, xxii, p. 390.— Ed.

The grands Ossages left no effort untried to induce the Illinois to join them to go and avenge the death of their people, but Monsieur de St. Clin, to prevent their solicitations having any effect, represented to the Illinois that the Panis Noirs and Picqués and the Laytannes were allies of the French as they were;31 that they could not find fault with people who, after being long attacked, endeavored to avenge themselves; and finally he succeeded in inducing the Illinois not to listen to the grands Ossages, by representing to them that if they wished to go to war they should direct their steps towards the Chikachas, that the blood of their fathers and that of the French still flowed on the lands of that nation, and that everything urged them to avenge their death.

31 Referring to the alliance made with these tribes by the brothers Mallet, who crossed the plains to Santa Fé in 1739, and noted particularly "Laitanes". See also Margry, *Découv. et Etabl.*, vi, pp. 455–462.— Ed.

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The grands Ossages were surprised at seeing the Laytannes. They dread them greatly. In fact that nation says it knows not what it is to retreat, and that it always attacks, whether it be strong or weak. The Laytannes are armed with spears like the ancient Spaniards; they are always mounted on caparisoned horses, and their women go to war with them.

I have already had the honor to inform you, Monseigneur, by my letter of the 15th of October, 1750, that a Poutetouamis of the river St. Joseph had been killed. That savage was one of a band coming from the Illinois country. He was killed 89 while passing through a village of that nation by a Peoria with whom he had had a quarrel on account of a young man, the son of a Peoria and a relative of him who struck the blow. At first the Peoria nation went to speak to Monsieur de St. Clin to try smooth over the matter. He wrote at once to the commandant at St. Joseph to strive on his part to bring about a reconciliation between the two nations, pointing out to him that the Poutetouatamis was a very worthless and troublesome individual, and that the matter was of very great importance in connection with the safety of the voyageurs in the Illinois country.

The efforts of the two commandants did not meet with much success. Last spring a party of Pouteouatamis Maskoutins, Folles avoines, and Saulteux went to attack the Peorias. The latter took three Pouteouatamis and a Haskoutin, and, far from doing them any harm, they sent them back and said to them: *"Why do you disturb the earth for a feel who has been killed? What is your reason for coming to such extremes? Some of our people who were married in your villages have been killed them and we have never taken up arms to revenge ourselves. Moreover, if you attack us we will revenge ourselves; the earth will be disturbed and the roads will be closed through your fault."* Monsieur de St. C1in has also written to the commandant at St. Joseph and I have no doubt that this slight adventure will greatly contribute to restore peace among those nations.

A Kaaux woman was killed.³² The nation pursued those who had committed the deed; it caught up with a party of seven savages, six of whom were killed on the spot. They said

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they were Renards. Sakis, and Sioux. The son of Pemissa, the chief of the Renards, was among the killed.³³ This news

32 Indian of the Cahokia branch of the Illinois. Their village was near the French town of Cahokia.— Ed.

33 This was Pemoussa the third. For the elder Pemoussa see *Wis. Hist. Colls*, xvi, pp. 268, 276, 281, 377, xvii, pp. 53, 54. For the father of this young chief, see *Ibid.*, p. 406. The last possessor of this name known to the Americans as Peamuska (Peimosky, etc), was chief of the principal village of the Foxes, situated at the mouth of Catfish Creek, Dubuque County, Iowa. Apparently he was made chief after the death of Kettle, about 1820. In 1824 he visited Washington, being a few years later killed by a band of Sioux and Menominee, who ambushed him and his band on their way to Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

90 relates to what I had the honor to write you in my letter of the 16th of this month. It is very important to prevent the consequences of this affair; I will, therefore, devote all my attention to it and will write to Monsieur Marin accordingly.

A party of Chaouanons went to fort Pianguichias³⁴ to strike a blow there, while the necessary relief was being taken to that post. At the same time forty Pianguichias were there; they set out on the heels of the Chaouanons and said they would follow them to their village to find out positively whence they came. They think they are from Sonioto or from the rivière à la Roche. If they be from the latter village the Pianguichias will perchance act in accordance with my intentions.

34 The fort at Vincennes, which was frequented by this band of Miami.— Ed.

Monsieur de St. Clin writes me that he is doing all in his power to bring about a reconciliation between the Ghaouanons and the Illinois and the nations of Ouabache, but that some Frenchmen who have deserted from his post to go and hunt at la Belle rivière have greatly disarranged his plans: that in fact some Chaouanons from Sonioto, who had come down to hunt, had a man killed and a woman with two children taken

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by the Ouyatanons, while the Frenchmen were with them. The Chaouanons stopped the Frenchmen and wanted to attack them, saying that the blow had been struck by the Illinois, the children of the French. Fortunately they changed their mind; they sent two of the Frenchmen, called Lamirande and Ste. Marie to the Illinois to find out who had committed the murder. They kept with them the wife of the said Lamirande and the other Frenchmen. To endeavor to withdraw these Frenchmen, Monsieur de St. Clin was compelled to send two envoys 91 with a calumet, two rolls of tobacco, and a letter in which he told the Chaouanons that the Illinois had not stirred from their mats and that he knew not what nation struck the blow; that he intended to have the roads kept open so that they might come in all safety to the French, and he Would make peace with the Illinois.

The Chaouanons received this letter at la Belle rivi re. This is the answer given to Monsieur de St. Clin.

“ We are all Iroquois here, masters of this river, the Iroquois of Montreal and Sault St. Louis. We look upon the Chaouanons as our children. We beg thee to try and get back the prisoners, to send them to us and we shall be satisfied. The Chaouanon chiefs have gone to show thy letter to their village, and to consult together whether they will go and see thee at the end of the winter or in the spring. There is one Joncaire (a savage) who hopes to go and see thee .”

The Chaouanons did not go to see Monsieur de St. Clin last spring. He fears that the French they had in their power have been killed, for a rumor has been current for some time that a Frenchman and woman have been killed, and that the Chaouanons have taken to the Chikachas four women bound. This was told him by an Illinois who had it from a Misamis.

Monsieur de Celoron had already informed me of this and that the Ouyatanons had sent back one of the said prisoners to the Chaouanons.

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We must not be grieved at the Ouyatanons having struck a blow at the Chaouanons, and I am writing to Monsieur de St. Clin that there would not have been much harm in stopping the quarrel this affair might, have occasioned between the Chaouanons and the Illinois, because it would be in our interest to destroy those Chaouanons by getting the nations to wage war against them.

With regard to the French who have remained in the power of the Chaouanons, perhaps the arrival of the Chaouanons whom the Ouyatanons have sent back, will have procured them 92 their liberty. In any case they are not to be pitied because they are deserters who have disobeyed the King's ordinances.

We should spare the Chaouanons but little because they are always trying to disturb the nations that are our allies. A savage of the post of Pianguichias, who was in winter quarters, was attacked by three Chaouanons; he received a gun-shot wound and a blow from a tomahawk, but escaped notwithstanding.

Another savage of the same nation was also attacked by the Chaouanons within sight of the post. He took to flight and lost only his gun and his blanket.

The English are taking as much trouble to seduce the nations on the side of the Illinois as everywhere else.

They gave a message to the people of the Vermilion village.³⁵ Their chief, named le Maringouin, would not receive it. He replied to his people that he knew no other father than the French; that he wished to have no other. They threw the message at him saying: “*Take it and do what thou wishest with it.*”

³⁵ A town of the Piankashaw (Peanguicha), on the Vermillion River, a stream in a county of the same name, in eastern Illinois, that enters the Wabash some distance above Vincennes.— Ed.

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Monsieur de St. Clin was informed at the same time that la Mouche noire, a chief of the Ouyatanons. said to his people: “ *I am going to the English; I will bring some of them here to the village and, on my return, I will go to the Illinois to ascertain their last dispositions regarding the French and the English, namely which of the two they desire as father; and, if they speak to me of the English, the matter will soon be concluded.* ”

Monsieur de St. Clin heard indirectly that the English are continuing to get la Mouche noire and la Peau blanche to work at corrupting those nations under the pretext of the fur-trade. The Peorias reported to him that la Peau Blanche went last winter to them to induce them to go there. Some of his people 93 are also to go to la Mouche noire. Such are their usual subjects of conversation when they come back in the spring from their winter quarters.

The English are continuing their intrigues to induce the nations to attack the French, through the machinations of la Mouche noire and la Demoiselle, chief of the rebellious Miamis. La Mouche noire has two brothers who are chiefs of the Kascakias domiciled at fort Chartres. He enticed away the elder who went to rivieère à la Roche to take there three English captives. He expects, on his return, to bring some English into Monsieur de St. Clin's neighborhood but the exact place is not known.

The English have won the confidence of the nations of Ouabache.

Finally Monsieur de St. Clin writes me that they are seeking only to penetrate to the lands of his post; and he adds that this may happen sooner than one thinks. I will not fail to repeat the orders I have already given him to spare no effort to make the English withdraw.

Last autumn Monsieur de St. Clin effected an alliance with the Panismahas,³⁶ a very powerful nation on the Missouri whose Chiefs are absolute. That nation is governed by three brothers; the most powerful is called Stabaco. The eldest of the three went to see him, and he received him very well. He assured him that either he or his brother would go and see him this year. On leaving he said to him: “ *My father, if thou hast any rebellious*

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Children who lose their wits, let me know. Thou canst rely on me and on my nation .” This alliance is a very advantageous one, and, by maintaining that nation in our interest, we shall be masters of the front and back of the Missouri country.

36 Panimaha (Pawnee Loup, Skidi) Indians were a large band of Caddoan stock that later amalgamated with the Pawnee and lived on Loup River, Nebraska. At the time of this document it is quite probable that the Skidi also included the Arikara. See George B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales* (N. Y., 1893).— Ed.

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You will learn, Monseigneur, the death of Monsieur de la Barre, commandant in the Missouri country, who was killed by a soldier of his post.³⁷ The wretch was at once arrested. Monsieur de St. Clin had him tried by court-martial and executed at once, as he was warned that the nations were coming to ask for his pardon. This soldier was intoxicated when he committed the deed, and as two Canadian voyageurs, called Frigeon and La Combe, were the indirect cause of it by trading brandy contrary to Monsieur de St. Clin's prohibition, I had the former imprisoned, and the latter will be as soon as he arrives.

37 The Missouri River had been early occupied by a French post called Fort Orleans, but this was captured and destroyed by the Indians in 1725. About 1745 Vaudreuil, then governor of Louisiana, had posts built upon the Missouri to check lawlessness on the part of the coureurs des bois. Lewis and Clark saw the remains of one at the Kansas village near Fort Leavenworth, when they passed this site in 1804. See Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904), i, p. 65; also Bougainville's *Memoir, post*.

La Barre was an ensign in the Canadian army in 1738, and in 1742 was granted permission to proceed to France en route to Louisiana— Ed.

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I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Laionquière

[Letter from De Raymond to the French minister, dated Oct. 1, 1751. Source same as preceding document, but folio 389.]

To Monseigneur Roullié Secretary and Minister of State .

Monseigneur—de Raymond, a Captain of a Company of the Marine Detachment In Canada, has the honor to most Respectfully Represent to you that in 1722, 29 years ago, the Council of Marine gave him a commission as Second Ensign in the troops of That Colony; since that date His zeal and assiduity in the Service have earned Him the rank of Captain. 95 In 1738, Monsieur The General Beauharnois Sent Him to take Command Until 1746 at the fort of Niagara, one of the most important keys of that country. In the same year 1746, Monsieur de Beauharnois gave Him his orders to Command And Conduct The Convoys of Canoes of the King and traders carrying Supplies to the posts of Detroit, Miamis, And Ouyatanons. In 1747, Monsieur de Beaucourt, Governor of Montreal,³⁸ gave him orders to serve as first Captain of the War party Commanded by Monsieur de Rigaud de Vaudreüil, at that time Major for trots Rivières on an expedition to the shores of New England at the fort of sarastaeux where over 100 men were killed and over 60 prisoners taken.³⁹ In 1748 he was Sent to Command at the fort of Niagara under the orders of Monsieur the General La Galissonnière. In 1749 The General Detached Him from the Command of That Garrison And Sent Him orders to go and take Command at the Miamis post where he stopped le pied froid, the Great Chief of the Miamis Nation,⁴⁰ and All his Band who were about to abandon that post and Go over to The English. By his Continual efforts and watchfulness and The care he took to Maintain Spies among the Revolted Miamis and Their allies, he Discovered The Intrigues of a Conspiracy, Balked its plans and Frustrated their Execution. That Conspiracy had Been hatched by the pianguichias,

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The ouyatanons of the Band of le Comte, The Revolted Miamis, the Chaouanons and a number of Renegade yrocois who Had Withdrawn to the Belle Rivière and had Drawn into Their Plot the nations of the ylinois Country who were to act at the time Indicated to Them. The letter Written To Him on the Subject by Monsieur Benoist, the Commandant of the ylinois, he Sent to Monsieur de la jonquière, who Stated that he had Forwarded It to Your Grace; a copy thereof is

38 For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 292.— Ed.

39 For this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 452. De Raymond must refer to the raid of 1746, wherein Fort Massachusetts was captured.— Ed.

40 See brief sketch of this chief, *Ibid.*, p. 482.— Ed.

96 hereto annexed.⁴¹ By those negotiations he Won over The families of le péan and of le Sac à pétun, the leading ones among the Revolted Miamis. Their Return to the post brought back there The remainder of That nation and restored Harmony everywhere. He had Managed Matters on That Occasion and Had Reason to Hope for a successful Result When his unexpected and unseasonable recall, which surprised That Nation, caused them to Suddenly Change their attitude, and matters Became So unsatisfactory from that time, that they were in a Desperate condition and Without any Chance of Improvement. This Should now show Monsieur de la jonquière, If he would open his eyes, How Messieurs de Celoron And Varin had deceived him By Asking the former to Relieve him and replace him by the Sieur de Villiers, who, according to The project that Was Sent you, Monseigneur, was to Bring back the Revolted Miamis At once And restore tranquility everywhere through the great Experience And the Great Credit he was supposed to have, but who, Nevertheless, obtained no other result than seeing The Band of le pied froid leave the post of Miamis and Go over to the English, without being able to stop them; and there Remained with the Sieur de villiers at that post only le pied froid and his family, Making 3 or 4 Lodges. The families of le péan and of le Sac à pétun, who had just come to Miamis to join him [de Raymond] would no longer Hear of Returning when they learned of his

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recall. Had he been Retained at that Post, They Would have come there and he Would have Availed himself of their Influence over the remainder of the Revolted Miamis to induce them to Return. The Band of le pied froid, whom he would have Strengthened in their loyalty on their arrival, would not have left that post. Such was the result of his Recall and When The Sieur de villiers appeared at Rivière à la Roche, Far from Having The Credit of Bringing back the Revolted Miamis, the latter would not Listen to Him but Sent Him back in so Contemptuous a manner that he Returned to

41 See *ante*, pp. 58–60.— Ed.

97 His post without a Word and quicker than he left it. What then Became of his Credit and Experience? They Served only to Put The evil beyond Remedy; and yet there was one. Were his and Monsieur de Celoron's eyes so closed, or had they so little Knowledge, as not to perceive it And not to see what was to be done: he would not Say to make the Revolted Miamis Come back—which might however happen—but he would Say to Protect the Ouabache River and make its Navigation and Trade safe for the voyageurs and secure the safety of The posts of Miamis and ouyatanons and of Those higher up. Otherwise they would be threatened with destruction in the near future and communications would be closed for most of the Nations who would cause trouble of all kinds and go to the English for Their Supplies. All these means are so well known to Him [de Raymond] that, notwithstanding The injustice Done him in Relieving him from the Miamis post, he would have Thrown Light on the subject. It would not, however, have Been Received, but would have Been set aside by persons who display more ability in looking after their own interests than they do Knowledge for the Good of the service in the Upper country. The Disinterestedness he manifested in the Service, his assiduity in the performance of his duties, and the Great Economy he effected for the King in the Various Commands Confided to him, The orders regarding which are hereto annexed, lead Him to Hope that he will obtain from your justice, Monseigneur, The Commission of Major Commanding the post of Michilimaquinac, and, to Save the King's moneys, The Licenses of the Canoes going to that post, as his remuneration. If your Grace cannot grant him That Favor, he

would most humbly Beg you to grant him for six years the Command of the post of la Baye with its Dependencies and Boundaries, as granted to the Sieur Marin who now holds it, Without The King being bound to give him any Remuneration beyond The Liberty to Exploit the same as he may deem most Advisable by means of persons whom he would know to be most honest in supplying the Needs of the Savages of that 7 98 post, Without their being obliged to pay any rent or License. In this manner no remuneration would be paid him, the More Disposal of the post which he Asks would serve him as such. He Hopes to obtain This Favor from your Grace On Account of his 29 years of service and because of the Debts he Was obliged to contract to maintain the dignity of the King's Service at the posts which he has Commanded and which are Very Expensive owing to the number of persons who pass there and the officers of the garrisons. So far he has never Been granted any of the advantageous posts which Are always granted to persons in his position. This leads Him to have Recourse to your justice, Monseigneur, to obtain from You The Command of La Baye, or if you cannot do him the Favor of granting him the Commission of Major Commanding at Missilimaquinac, to give him the Command of one of those two Posts. This would put him in a Position, If His Majesty were willing to incur The expense of the journey, to go In person and make Known a Rich and abundant Copper Mine whereof he has a Knowledge from information from two voyageurs Devoted to him who Discovered it and wintered at its foot. It is in the vicinity of the Mississippi river The largest vessels of that country could lead at the foot of the Mine for the Discovery of which Considerable Expense was incurred Under the Direction of Monsieur de Gruis some years ago.⁴² He Knows two Roads leading to it; The Shortest is by The post of La Baye. If Your Grace would give Him The Command there for six years and honor Him with your orders, he would go himself to conduct the person you would be pleased to appoint to Inspect it.

⁴² In 1743; see brief report in *Id.*, xiii. p. 276.— Ed.

1751: POST AT SAULT STE. MARIE

[Letter from La Jonquiére to the French minister, dated Oct. 5, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 104.]

Quebec , October 5, 1751.

Monseigneur —In my letter of the 24th of August of last year, I had the honor to report to you that, in order to thwart the measures the English cease not to take to beguile the savage nations of the northern region, I had sent the Sieur Chevalier de Repentigny to Sault Ste. Marie to establish a post at his own expense⁴³ and build a stockade fort there, in order to stop the savages of the northern posts who go and come to and from the English, to break off the trade they carry on with them, to stop and forestall the consequences of the messages and presents that the English send to those nations that they may corrupt and win them completely over to their interests, and inspire them with feelings of hatred and aversion to the French.

⁴³ The patent was issued to the Sieur de Bonne and the Chevalier de Repentigny, June 24, 1751; it was for six leagues frontage on the river and six leagues in depth; see *Canadian Archives*, 1905, p. 154. This grant was the origin of a famous lawsuit. The heirs of De Repentigny dwelt at Guadeloupe, but those of De Bonne lived in Canada. In 1796 Pierre de Bonne sold his title to one James Caldwell at Albany. The claim passed through several hands, and congress was petitioned (1826) by the heirs of this moiety. In 1846 the Repentigny heirs likewise petitioned for title to the land in question. In 1860 congress passed a private act, referring the matter to the courts for adjudication, The Michigan court affirmed the title, but the United States supreme court reversed the decision (1868) and threw out the claim, chiefly because of lack of occupancy.— Ed.

In establishing such a post I have also had in view the securing of a refuge for all the French voyageurs,⁴⁴ especially for

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44 From the abandonment of the Jesuit mission at this place until the building of De Repentigny's fort there seems to have been no establishment of any sort at Sault Ste. Marie. The number of resident Indians was in 1726 reported as only thirty. In 1748 voyageurs were maltreated at this passage, but there seems to have been no attempt to occupy this important place until the time noted in the present document.— Ed.

100 those who trade in the northern region, and, for such purpose, have had the land there cleared, as it is very suitable for growing Indian corn, and thereby may provide the food required for the people of the said post and also for the needs of the voyageurs.

The said Sieur de Repentigny has fulfilled on all points the first purposes of my orders.

On his arrival at Missilimakinac the chief of the Savages of Sault Ste Marie handed him four branches of porcelain, and begged him to send them to me to show me how much they appreciate my attention in sending them the Sieur Chevalier de Repentigny, whom they had already adopted as their nephew (this is a mark of distinction for an officer, among the savages). In order to inform them of my will in all cases, and to direct their steps and actions.

I gave orders, to the said Sieur de Repentigny to reply to the message of that chief by the same number of branches of porcelain, and to assure him and his nation of my satisfaction with their good disposition.

The savages received him at Sault Ste. Marie with much joy. He kindled my fire in the village by a collar which the savages received with sentiments of gratitude.

He strove at first to win over the more suspicious of those savages.

One Tocoouagané confided to him that there was a collar in the village sent by the English. The Sieur de Repentigny succeeded in getting that collar that had been in the village for five years, and had been asked for in vain until then. That collar was carried

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to all the Saulteux villages, and to the others south and north of Lake Superior to induce all those nations to enter into the conspiracy planned between the English and the Five nations, after which it was placed and kept deposited at Sault Ste. Marie. Fortunately for us, the conspiracy was revealed and had no result.

The Sieur de Repentigny sent me that collar with the message of Apaequois, a Missisagué of the village at the head of 101 Lake Ontario⁴⁵ to support that collar which he gave in 1747 to the Saulteux at the foot of the Quinibitanon rapid. He sent me also the message given by the English in the autumn of 1756 to get up that conspiracy. I have the honor to send you copies of those two messages annexed to this letter, and you will see by them to what excess the English had pushed their evil designs to destroy the French and obtain possession of our forts.

⁴⁵ The Mississagua were an Algonquian tribe originally encountered, about 1648, north of Lake Huron. In the eighteenth century they moved southeastward, and had villages in the present peninsula of Ontario, one of these being at Toronto; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 313. The one mentioned here seems to have been near the site of Hamilton. The tribe are now on reservations in Ontario. Consult *Ontario Hist. Soc. Papers and Records*, vii. pp. 7–10.—ED.

The said Sieur de Repentigny forbade the savages of his post to go and winter at Sagouinaw. This means not a little for those nations go from there very easily and in a short time to the English who lead them with presents. Those savages have kept the promise ne exacted from them. They all remained on Lake Superior notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the English to attract them to them.

The said Sieur de Repentigny is afraid that the nations of his post may want to go to war against the Sioux, and that he will have much trouble in preventing them, because they maintain that they have nothing to do with the peace the Saulteux of Chouagamigon have

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made with the Sioux. I have ordered him to make every effort to stop any parties that might be formed and I trust he will succeed.

With regard to the second object of my orders, the said Sieur de Repentigny has neglected nothing in order to carry out the same.

He arrived at Sault Ste Marie too late last year to fortify himself properly. He however sheltered himself from attack in a kind of fort large enough to hold the traders of Missilimakinac.

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The weather was dreadful in September, October, and November. Snow fell on the 10th of October to the depth of a foot and caused him great delay.

He kept his employees occupied throughout the winter in cutting 1,100 stakes 15 feet long for his fort, with the timber for the inside linings and that required for building three houses, one of which is 30 feet long and 20 wide, and the two others 25 feet long and as wide as the first.

His fort is completely finished with the exception of an oak redoubt which he is to make 12 feet square and as much above the gate of the fort. As soon as this work is completed, he will send me the plan of his establishment. His fort is 110 feet square.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The fort here described was situated on the south (or American) side of the strait, about where Fort Brady is now located. It caught fire and was destroyed Dec. 22, 1762, not long after possession had been taken by a detachment of British under Lieutenant Jamet. Alexander Henry was staying there at the time and describes it in his journal. Jamet sought refuge at Mackinac, where he was killed when the Indians surprised the fort, June 2, 1763. See Bain, *Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures* (Boston, 1901). No further effort was made by the British government to occupy this place, but in 1783 the North West Company of fur-traders built a fort and trading house on the north shore of the

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strait, which was maintained under this company and its successors until recent times. In 1814, in retaliation for the active sympathy of the fur-traders with the British, an American detachment under Lieutenant Holmes visited the site, and burned all the buildings; see "Franchère's Narrative," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vi, pp. 395–397. The first peaceful American expedition to the region was that of Gov. Lewis Oass in 1820. He found the Indians under the influence of the British, but made a treaty with them, which was faithfully kept. In 1822 Fort Brady was built, and has been garrisoned ever since.— Ed.

The said Sieur de Repentigny has observed to me that during the winter he has had small rafts of timber run down the Sault Ste. Marie through a spring of hot water which is a curiosity in this country where ice is more common than anywhere else.

With regard to the cultivation of the land—The Sieur de Repentigny 103 has had a bull, two oxen, three cows, two heifers, a horse, and a mare from Missilimakinac.

He was unable to get any land cleared on his arrival, as his employees were fully occupied in working at the fort.

Last spring he had all the small timber and brushwood cleared in the immediate vicinity of the fort.

He induced a Frenchman, married to an Indian woman at Sault Ste. Marie, to take a farm.⁴⁷ They have cleared and seeded the land, and, unless prevented by frost, they will gather from 30 to 35 sacks of Indian corn.

⁴⁷ This habitant was Jean Baptiste Cadotte (Cadeau). His father had accompanied St. Luson to the region, being present when the French flag was raised in 1671. When De Repentigny left Sault Ste. Marie he placed Cadotte in charge, and Henry speaks of him as the "last governor of the French fort." He became a British subject and protected Alexander Henry during Pontiac's conspiracy, afterwards becoming his partner in the Lake Superior fur-trade. He lived at Sault Ste. Marie until his death in 1803. His marriage with

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the Chippewa woman was legitimized at Mackinac in 1756; see Mackinac Register, *post*. His two sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel, were prominent fur-traders of the Lake Superior region, and have left many descendants. See *Minn. Hist. Coll.*, v.— Ed.

The said Sieur de Repentigny is so desirous of cultivating the land that he has already taken steps to procure two slaves whom he will employ in taking care of the Indian corn he will harvest on such land.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ These slaves were Indian captives. The custom of enslaving captives was common to all Indian tribes. In the upper country large numbers of such were secured from the Pawnee tribe, hence the term “panis” became synonymous with slave. The slaves were delivered by the Indians to the French, who used them chiefly for domestic service. The conditions of slavery were mild in Canada, the “panis” being usually a member of the household. See Lafontaine, “L’esclavage en Canada,” in Montreal Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1858.— Ed.

I beg you, Monseigneur, to be convinced that I shall spare no effort to make that establishment equally useful for the King's service and for the voyageurs' convenience.

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I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Laionquière .

1752: NEWS FROM THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Letter from Longueuil⁴⁹ to the French minister. Reprinted from *N.Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, pp. 245–251.]

⁴⁹ Charles le Moyne, third of the name, second Baron de Longueuil, was the officer mentioned in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xvii. Unfortunately, the index of that volume does not

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distinguish him from either his father or his brother, the latter the Chevalier de Longueuil. The officer who wrote this letter was born at Longueuil in 1687 and in due time entered military service, being lieutenant in 1713 and captain in 1719. Upon the death of his father (1729) he succeeded to the barony. In 1733 he was made town-major of Montreal, and the next year received the cross of St. Louis. His chief military expedition was the one that he led from Canada to Louisiana in 1739, to aid his uncle Sieur de Bienville against the Chickasaw. In 1748 he was made the king's lieutenant at Montreal, and the following year, its governor. Upon the demise of Marquis de la Jonquière (March 17, 1752), Baron de Longueuil became governor of the colony, serving until the arrival of the Marquis Duquesne in August of the same year. Longueuil died in January, 1755. For his portrait, see *Ibid.*, p. 292. His only son was killed on Dieskau's expedition of the same year.— Ed.

April 21, 1752.

My Lord —The late Marquis de la Jonquiere had the honor to report to you in his letter of the 13th 7 ber , the ill success of the orders he had given in a secret instruction to Mr de Celoron; that the band of *La Demoiselle* and other Indians of the Beautiful river had pushed their rebellion to excess, had adopted the English and had openly declared themselves the sworn enemies of the French.

In the same letter that general had the honor to inform you that he had adopted wise measures to secure the conquest of *La Demoiselle's* fort, to expel the English from the Beautiful river, 105 to punish the Indian nations and to make them feel the King's power.

I doubt not, my Lord, but that letter had at first created great hopes of the execution of the expedition which was projected and concerted in the best possible manner by the late M. de la Jonquière.

But the despatch which that General had the honor to write you on the 29 th of October on the subject of M r de Belestre's voyage,⁵⁰ and of the scalps taken by the Nipissings, will

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only create an apprehension in your mind that his orders and purest intentions would be fruitless.

50 For this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 459.— Ed.

In fact, my Lord, the orders which M r de la Jonquière despatched last spring to M r de Celeron, and repeated in his letter to him of the first of October, were not executed any more than those he had given him as far back as 1750, before his departure for Detroit. I cannot actually fathom the reasons which prevented that officer obeying them, as he makes no mention thereof in the letter he has Written to the late M r de la Jonquière on the twenty-sixth day of January last.

That letter has been preceded by several despatches from M r de Celeron and the Commandants of our other posts at the South, even, I think, at Illinois, but neither the one nor the other has reached me. Mr de Celoron had addressed these despatches to M r de la Lavalterie, the Commandant at Niagara,⁵¹ who detached a soldier to convey them to Fort Rouillé, with orders to the storekeeper of that post to transmit them promptly to Montreal. It is not known what became of that soldier. About the same time a Mississagué from Toronto

⁵¹ Pierre Paul Margane, Sieur de la Valterie, was brother of the younger Vincennes, founder of the fort of that name on the Wabash. Born in 1679, he was ensign in 1712, lieutenant in 1721, and captain in 1739. in 1759, as the oldest captain in the service, he received a pension. He is spoken of as a rich, honest, elderly man, of fair talents. Besides this command at Niagara he was in 1739 at Fort Nipigon, and in 1747 at Sault St. Louis. He remained in Canada after the British conquest.— Ed.

¹⁰⁶ arrived at Niagara, who informed M r de Lavalterie that he had not seen that soldier at the fort, nor met him on the way. 'Tis to be feared that he has been killed by Indians, and the despatches carried to the English. M r de la Valterie has not failed to recommend to this Indian to make every search on his way back to his village, and to assure him, that

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should he find that soldier, and convey the despatches entrusted to him to the storekeeper of Toronto, he would be well rewarded.

M r de Celoron's letter is accompanied by one that M r Desligneris⁵² wrote to the late M r de la Jonquière on the 4th of January. 'Tis from this last letter that I learned more particularly the unfortunate state of our affairs.

⁵² François Marchand des Ligneris (Lignery) was born in 1704, made second ensign in 1733, first ensign in 1738, lieutenant in 1744, and captain in 1751. He is first noted at Three Rivers, where his father, who died in 1732, was town-major. In 1735 he accompanied De Noyelles on the latter's expedition against the Fox Indians, and in 1739 participated in the Chickasaw expedition. King George's War found him in Acadia (1745–47), and in 1748 he assisted in arranging an exchange of prisoners between the two colonies. He appears to have served at Ouiatanon as commandant in 1750–53. In 1755 he accompanied Contrecoeur's expedition to Fort Duquesne, and participated in the attack on Braddock. In the closing months of 1756 he succeeded Dumas as commandant of Fort Duquesne, and for his services received the cross of St. Louis and a pension. During his command of Fort Duquesne, Des Ligneris sent out many raiding parties against the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1758 he led in person the troops that defeated Maj. James Grant and captured many of the latter's Highlanders. Finding Fort Duquesne untenable upon the approach of Gen. John Forbes, Des Ligneris burned the works and retreated with his forces to Fort Machault. There, during the winter, he was engaged in preparations for a descent upon the English at Fort Pitt; but the advance of Prideaux and Johnson against Niagara called him thither to bring succor. In attempting to force his way into the fort, Des Ligneris was defeated and captured by the English. He is said to have been ill-treated while prisoner, probably in retaliation for the barbarities committed by his Indians upon the prisoners taken at Grant's defeat. Certain it is that he died of his wounds before February, 1760. His widow and daughters retired to France and were pensioned. In the sketch given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp 113–115, father and son are confused as one officer. The former was Constant Marchand, Sieur des Ligneris (who died in 1732), and

the officer commanding in the Fox wars of Wisconsin. An elder brother appears to have entered the army before François, and was ensign in 1729. Possibly, also, it was he who accompanied De Noyelles; see *Id.*, xvii, p. 226. A son of François was ensign in 1760 and retired to France.— Ed.

From the accounts which M r de Celoron transmitted to the late M r de la Jonquière subsequent to those, a detail of which that General had the honor to give you, and previous to M r 107 Celoron's being able to receive his last orders, sent in his letter of the first of October, it appears that it will be out of his power to make any movement.

He observes, first, that after the arrival of the Militia men under the command of Lieutenant de Longueuil,⁵³ and twenty days' consultation among the nations, the latter had concluded, our force being insufficient to attack *La Demoiselle* and his allies, to keep the hatchet to use it when complete success would be certain, and to wait until the spring; that the delay these Indians demand, put it out of his power to execute anything with the few Frenchmen he has; that it is easy to perceive by the manœuvre of the Indians, that they cannot be induced to follow the French unless the latter are in strong force; that he has notified the Commandants of the River St. Joseph and of the Ouyatanons of the resolution these Indians had adopted, and that, should their Indians be of the same mind, nothing can probably be effected, and they must confine themselves to putting their post in a secure state.

⁵³ This was Charles Jacques le Moyne, later third Baron de Longueuil, son of the officer sketched in *ante*, p. 104, note 49. The younger Longueuil was born at Longueuil in 1724. Early entering the colonial army, he attained the grade of lieutenant in 1748, and in 1754 that of captain. Upon his father's death (early in 1755) he succeeded to the title and estate, but was missing after a sortie upon the English on Lake George in Dieskau's expedition of 1755. For several years, his widow refused to believe him dead. A posthumous daughter was born, who later became the Baroness Grant.— Ed.

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In a letter of the 18th of September, M r de Celoron notifies M r de la Jonquière that no dependence is to be placed on the Indians for any expedition, although Mikinac⁵⁴ had assured him that nothing but the fear of the smallpox had stopped him, and that all the villages will march in the spring, if forces be sent. Finally M r de Celoron states in his last letter, that he cannot say anything positively respecting the nations of his post, as he had not seen them since their departure for their winter grounds.

54 For this chief see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 389. He died at Detroit during the winter of 1754–55.— Ed.

M r de Ligneris, Commadant at the Ouyatanons, believes that great reliance is not to be placed on the Maskoutins, and that their remaining neutral is all that is to be expected from them and the Kispapous.⁵⁵ He even adds that we are not to reckon on the nations which appear in our interests; no Ouyatanon Chief has appeared at his post for a long time, although they had promised to inform him of all that they knew.

55 A misreading for Kickapoo, the tribe allied with the Mascoutin, who at this period were settled near the Ouyatanon post.— Ed.

M r de Villiers, Commandant at the Miamis,⁵⁶ has been disappointed in his expectation of bringing the Miamis back from the White River, part of whom had been to see him, the smallpox having put the whole of them to the route. Coldfoot and his son have died of it, as well as a large portion of our most trusty Indians. *Le Gris*, Chief of the Tepicons,⁵⁷ and his mother, are likewise dead; they are a loss because they were well disposed towards the French.

56 Louis Coulon de Villiers, for whom see *ante*, p. 46, note 82.— Ed.

57 For data relative to this clan of the Miami, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 485.— Ed.

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The Nations of the River St. Joseph, who were to join those of Detroit, have said that they would be ready to perform their promise as soon as Onontio would have sent the necessary number of Frenchmen. The Commandant of this post writes on the 15th of January that all the Nations appear to take sides against us, that he would not be responsible for the good dispositions 109 these Indians seem to entertain, inasmuch as the Miamis are their ear relatives.

The Missilimakina Nations who had in like manner promised, have not budged either. M r Duplessis Fabert writes on the first of January that he has been informed some of the enemy have been seen on, the Grand river.

It is exceedingly probable that the Commandant at Fort Chartres will not have any greater authority over the Nations of his post.

The result of all that I have the honor of reporting to you, my Lord, is that not only have our rebels of the Beautiful river not experienced any ill treatment from the Nations that the late M r de la Jonquière had excited against them, but even moreover, that the same Nations promised wonders to that General only with a premeditated view to deceive him, and that at heart they preserve the same feelings of attachment for those rebels to whom they are connected by blood.

The perfidy of these Nations, however unfortunate it may be, is not the most untoward event that could happen to us, and it was not without reason that the late M r de la Jonquière questioned whether the two scalps taken by the Nepissings would give any trouble to our rebels, or render them more mutinous. His alternative has been only too well realized to our greatest disadvantage.

On the other hand, M r de Joncaire repeats that the Indians of the Beautiful river are all English, for whom alone they work; that they are all resolved to sustain each other, and

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that not a party of Indians goes to the Beautiful river but leaves some there to increase the rebel forces.

On the other hand M r de St. Ange, Commandant of the post of Vincennes,⁵⁸ writes to M r Desligneris to use all means to protect himself from the storm which is ready to burst on the

⁵⁸ For a sketch of this officer see *Id.*, xvi, p. 443. His will is printed in F. L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1886), pp. 125–127. See further data in Illinois Historical Society *Transactions*, 1905, pp. 18–20.— Ed.

¹¹⁰ French; that he is busy securing himself against the fury of our enemies.

The Commandants of our posts have so much more cause to be on their guard against all events as our enemies have steeped their hands in French blood, and as we deeply feel the cost of the two scalps taken by the Nepissings near *La Demoiselle's* village.

The Miamis of Rock river have scalped two soldiers belonging to M r de Villiers' fort; this blow was struck last fall, doubt less shortly after that of the Nepissings.

The Pianguichias, who were at war with the Chaouanons, according to the report rendered by M r St. Clin to the late M r de la Jonquière, have declared entirely against us. They killed at Christmas five Frenchmen at the Vermillion. M r Desligneris, who was aware of this attack, sent off a detachment to secure the effects of the Frenchmen from being plundered, but when this detachment arrived at the Vermillion, the Pianguichas had decamped. The bodies of the Frenchmen were found on the ice.

M r Desligneris was assured that the Pianguichas had committed this act, because four men of their Nation had been killed by the French at the Illinois, and four others had been taken and put in irons. It is said that these eight men were going to fight the Chikachas, and had, without distrusting anything, entered the quarters of the French who killed them. It has been reported, also, to M r Desligneris that these Frenchmen had recourse to this

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extreme measure only, because a Frenchman and two slaves had been killed a few days before by a party of Pianguichias, and that the Indians in question had no knowledge of that circumstance.

The like report was made to M r de St. Ange, Commandant at the post of Vincenne, and that many of the Illinois had been defeated.

On the 19th of October the Pianguichias had killed two more Frenchmen, who were constructing pirogues, lower down than the post of Vincenne.

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Two days afterwards the Pianguichias killed two slaves in sight of Fort Vincenne.

The murder of these nine Frenchmen and these two slaves is but too certain.

M r de Joncaire was informed by the late M r de la Jonquière, by a letter of the 6th of September, that he had been assured by a party of the warriors, that the Flatheads had scalped three Frenchmen at a place called *La Chutte* , in the lower part of the Beautiful river,⁵⁹ and took a fourth Frenchman prisoner, whom they delivered, with the scalps, to the English; this news may be false, though there is reason to believe that it is true.

⁵⁹ The falls of the Ohio, where is now the city of Louisville, Ky.— Ed.

I expect nothing less than to learn by accounts I shall receive this spring, that other Frenchmen have been killed. The advices I have received from all quarters leave me no doubt on this head.

M r Desligneris thinks that many of the Ouiatanons, who form with the Pianguichias and the Miamis but one Nation, may join them.

A Squaw, the widow of one of the Frenchmen who had been killed at the Vermillion, has reported to M r Desligneris that the Pianguichias, Illinois and Osages were to assemble

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at the Prairies of * * * the place where the Messrs. de Villiers and de Noyelle attacked the Foxes about twenty years ago,⁶⁰ and when they had built a fort to secure their families, were to make a general attack on all the French.

60 For this affair see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 109–120, 129, 130.— Ed

'Twas also reported to M r Desligneris that a Pouteouatami chief, of the River St. Joseph, being at the Ouyatanons in the fall with letters for him, whilst he was at the Miamis, told a Pianguichas chief, privately, that his Nation would never accept the tomahawk to strike the Miamis. This assurance may greatly have emboldened the Miamis.

M r de Joncaire writes, on the 30th of August, that he had just learned that a meeting of the Illinois, Ouyas, Pianguichas, Miamis, Delawares, Chaouanons and the Five Iroquois Nations, was to be had this year at *La Demoiselle's*, and that the whole tends, in his opinion, to a general revolt.

The storekeeper at Toronto writes to M r de Verchères, Commandant at Fort Frontenac, that some trustworthy Indians have assured him that the Saulteux, who killed our Frenchmen some years ago,⁶¹ have dispersed themselves along the head of Lake Ontario, and seeing himself surrounded by them, he doubts not but they have some evil design on his fort.

61 See *Ibid.*, pp. 508–512.— Ed.

There is no doubt, my Lord, but 'tis the English who are inducing the savages to destroy Fort Toronto, on account of the essential injury it does their trade at Choueguen.

The capture of the four English traders by M r de Celoron's order last year,⁶² has not prevented other Englishmen going to trade to the Vermillion river, where the Reverend Father la Richardie wintered.

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62 The British subjects captured by Céloron's orders, were: Luke Irwin, an Irishman living in Pennsylvania, and an employee of George Croghan; he spoke the Shawnee language, and was accustomed to trade at the Scioto town. Joseph Fortiner (Faulkner) of New York, likewise an employee of Croghan and licensed by the governor of Pennsylvania. Thomas Burke (Bourke), an Irish inhabitant of Lancaster, and an employee of John Martin. The three were captured at Sandusky, and carried to Detroit. John Pattin of Pennsylvania was taken by De Villiers at Fort Miami, under pretext that he was laden with wampum and presents with which to seduce the Miami of that region into an agreement to remove to La Demoiselle's village. After a short detention in Detroit all four of the captive traders (Irwin, Fortiner, Burke, and Pattin) were sent by way of Niagara to Montreal. There they were interviewed by La Jonquière; see memoir designated *Conduct of the English Ministry* (several editions), appendix v. After a searching examination, in which it is claimed that they admitted that the English traders instigated Indians to murder Frenchmen, all the prisoners but Fortiner, who was ill, were sent to France, and imprisoned at Rochelle. In November, 1751, they appealed to the English authorities and were finally released; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 241. The whole incident was the occasion of much diplomatic fencing between the two nations; see *Id.*, vi. pp. 711, 731–733, and *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v., pp. 552–556; see also *Gist's Journals*, pp. 37, 108, 109.

Pattin left an account of his captivity, the manuscript of which is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose librarian, Dr. Samuel A. Green, has kindly furnished us with a copy, from which we extract the following:

“John Pattin of the Province of Pennsylvania, Indian Trader, says, that some time in Novr. 1750, he went with Goods a trading to the Miamis, otherwise called the Twigtwee Town which lies near the head of that Western Branch of the Ohio called by the English Miamis River, but by the French *La Riv: Rochers* or *Rocky River* and is about 200 Miles by Water & 100 by land to where it empties it self into the Ohio, and from there up to Log's Town is about 450 Miles by Water that this Miami Town was computed to have about 200 fighting

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men, all of the Twigtwee Nation settled therein and are some of those who left the french 7 or 8 Years ago in order to trade with the English. That being informed here that there were some Indians a hunting at the Cross (a place about 65 Miles from the Miamis Town where the French have erected a large Wooden Cross to be worshipped by their Traders who pass this way) he went thither & traded with them but wanting sundry Necessaries he went from thence to a Fort which the French have on the Branch of the Lake Erie called by them Miami River, thinking as there was peace between the English & French, he would be in no danger, but contrary to his expectation when he came there he was immediately seized & kept in close confined; that the River at the Fort is about three Rods wide, on the other side of which about a mile & half from the Fort is the French Miamis Town, where there are about 150 Indians the remainder of those who came over to the English as mentioned before; that the Fort is small, stock round with Pallisadoes and had at the time he was there a Capt. Lieut. & 50 Men, but that most of these men were traders, who were continually passing to & fro, & by what he could learn there were but about 9 or 10 who constantly resided there; that the French talk of destroying this Fort, & building one three Miles below on the other side of the River, in a Fork between the Miamis River & a River which leads to a Portage near the head of Wabach, that the Land from the English Miamis Town to the French Fort is for the most part Savannahs & Plains, but here & there some fine Timber Land interspersed that from hence he was sent under a guard of 9 Men to Fort Detroit, which is about 240 Miles by Water, that the passage to this Place is down Miamis River, which is full of small Falls, into Lake Erie & then up the Streights between Lake Erie & Huron, on the West side of which streight stands the Fort about 40 Rods from the River, that it is a large Pallisadoed Fort, containing about 100 small Log & other Houses that there are about 400 Men settled in & about the Fort, that they have got but one Swivell Gun mounted here, tho this is the most considerable settlement the French have in these Parts they raise Grain & most kind of Provisions to supply the other Forts about the Lakes; that great encouragement is given to young married People to settle there, the French designing to make it a large settlement if Possible; that the Streight is about a Mile across at the Fort, that there are Plantations all the way from Ft: Detroit to Lake Huron which is

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about three Leagues; that the French go in three days from Fort Detroit to Fort Sandoski, which is a small Pallisadoed Fort, with about 20 Men lying on the South side of Lake Erie, and was built the latter end of the Year 1750, that after being kept Prisoner about 4 Months at Detroit he was sent under a guard to Niagara Fort”—and thence to Toronto, Frontenac, Montreal, and Quebec. After a long confinement he was shipped from Quebec to Rochelle.— Ed.

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It has been reported to M r Desligneris that other English traders had been to the Beautiful river and to the White river to trade, under the guidance of some Ouyatanons who were wintering there. 8

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An English trader assured M r de Joncaire that the Governor of Virginia was coming the beginning of September with 800 horses, to the Beautiful river to hold a council with the Chaouanons at Cheningué.⁶³

⁶³ This treaty was actually held in June, 1752. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie appointed as commissioners therefor, Joshua Fry, Lumsford Lomax, and James Patton, who secured a confirmation of the Lancaster treaty of 1744. See “Dinwiddie Papers,” Virginia Historical Society *Publications*, i, p. 6; *Plain Facts* (Phila., 1781), p. 38; and Goodman, *Journal of Captain William Trent*, pp. 83, 84.— Ed.

Finally, the English have paid the Miamis for the scalps of the two soldiers belonging to M r de Villiers' garrison.

To so many circumstances equally critical, are superadded the scarcity of provisions, and great appearance of famine at our Southern posts.

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M r de Celoron writes, on the 12th of September, to M r de la Jonquière that the Indian corn is worth twenty *livres* the 115 *minot* , payable in peltries and that he will possibly be obliged to send away some of the Canadians from Detroit owing to the want of provisions.

To add to the misfortunes, M r Desligneris has learned that the Commandant of the Illinois would not permit the Sieurs Delisle and Fonblanche, who had contracted with the King to supply the Miamis, Ouyatonons, and Detroit with provisions from the Illinois, to purchase provisions for the subsistence of the garrisons of those posts, on the ground that an increase of troops and families had arrived who would consume the stock at the Illinois.

M r de St. Ange, Comandant at Fort Vincenne, does not state anything in this regard to M r Desligneris; he merely says that he has no intelligence from the Illinois, and that he is still uncertain whether the convoy had arrived there.

Whatever augmentation of the troops and families may have taken place at the Illinois, 'tis certain that, on the receipt of the letter, Messrs. de la Jonquière and Bégon have written to the Commandant and Commissary of Fort Chartres, who will do their best in order that Messrs. Delisle and Fonblanche may perform their contract, unless they suffer from a similar scarcity to ours. The great difficulty is, the arrival of the General and Intendant's orders at their destination. M r Desligneris sent them off on the 3d of January by 4 Mascoutins, but he doubts much if they will reach the Illinois; he knows not, even, that they will arrive at the post of Vincenne, on account of the enemies that encompass him.

The crops have also failed at the Beautiful river. M r de Joncaire and the other Frenchmen have been reduced to a couple of handfuls (*une jointée*) of Indian corn a day; neither meat, nor grease, nor salt.

Famine is not the whole scourge we experience; the smallpox commits ravages; it begins to reach Detroit. One woman has died of it at the Huron village.

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This disease prevails also at the Beautiful river.

'Twere desirable that it should break out and spread, generally, 116 throughout the localities inhabited by our rebels. It would be fully as good as an army.

Before the smallpox broke out at Detroit, 40 persons died belonging to the village of the Outtauois, and almost as many at the Pouteouatamis.

Kinousaki is likewise dead. We lose a chief who was, apparently, much attached to the French.

M r de Celoron has again been told that the remainder of the fugitive Hurons will retire to Detroit this spring. The contagious disease will contribute a great deal to their return.

You are fully informed, my Lord, by the detail that I have just had the honor to submit to you:

1st That the expedition which M r de Celoron was ordered to get up, did not take place.

2nd That the promises the Indians had made to the late M r de la Jonquière were reigned, and that they are more in favor of our rebels than of us.

3d That the attack of the Nepissings has only rendered our rebels more dangerous.

4th That the Miamis have scalped two soldiers.

5th That the Pianguichias have killed 7 Frenchmen and two slaves.

6th That the same Nation had, shortly before, killed another Frenchman and two slaves.

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7th That, according to what has been stated to M. de Joncaire, the Flatheads have scalped three Frenchmen and taken a 4th whom they delivered to the English with said scalps.

8th That we are menaced with a general conspiracy.

9th That we must fear even for Toronto.

10th That the English are the indirect authors of the murder of the French.

11th That famine at Detroit and its dependencies is quasi certain.

12th That smallpox is ravaging the whole of that Continent.

You perceive, my Lord, the sorrowful condition of the entire of that Upper Country.

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* * * * *

I shall dispatch this summer 400 Canadians, under the command of Chevalier de Longueuil, to Detroit, to proceed thence to winter at the other posts nearest our enemies. Next spring I shall send off five or six hundred Canadians to form a junction with the former at the rendezvous to be designated by M r de Longueuil. I shall transmit to him, then, my orders which I regulate according to his experience, and the accounts he will send me during the winter. I could not be beforehand with my orders, because our affairs will possibly change from one moment to another.

I shall not employ any Indians on this expedition, unless they offer to follow the French, to aid them in looking up the bones of their brethren.

Should Chevalier de Longueuil's mission be as successful as he and I dare hope, the Upper country will be free, and the French able to trade there in all surety. The Indian

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nations will return to their attachment to us, and then I shall have it in my power to adopt measures to oblige the English to disburse. But I must have the honor to observe to you, my Lord, that however fortunate this expedition may be, and whatever foresight I may have in closing the road on the English, their avidity will lead them to surmount all risks, and the Indians are capable, besides, of making by-roads to escape my vigilance.

My Lord, it would therefore be of infinite importance to limit the possession of the English, and that the boundaries of the two extremities of this Colony should be so firmly regulated that the English could not find any pretext to trouble us in our territory. I am persuaded that the capture of the four English traders by M r de Celoron, and the letter M r de la Jonquière had the honor to write you on the 16 th of 7 ber will not have contributed a little to accelerate the labors of the Commissioners. The tranquility of this Colony depends on their decision.

I am with most profound respect, My Lord, Your most humble and most obedient servant

Longueuil .

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1752: INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING THE INDIANS

[Letter from the French minister to Du Quesne,⁶⁴ dated May 15, 1752. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, serie B, Canada, vol. 95, folio 15."]

⁶⁴ Ange du Quesne, Sieur de Menneville, came of an illustrious family of naval officers. Born in 1702, he entered the navy (1714), passing through the various ranks to commander of a vessel. Named governor of Canada in 1752, he was at the same time granted the title of marquis. He remained in Canada three years, and greatly invigorated and reinforced the service. Upon his retirement from the governorship (1755), he was made chief of squadron and continued to serve until 1776, when he retired with the rank of lieutenant-general. Du Quesne engaged in eighteen campaigns, and in 1759 was defeated

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by the English in a naval engagement. In 1763 he was chosen commander of the order of St. Louis, dying at Antony on the Seine, Sept. 17, 1778.— Ed.

Marly , May 15, 1752.

Monsieur —In the instructions the King has ordered me to send you on the various matters connected with the administration of your government, you will see that movements of rather considerable importance among the savages of the upper country are dealt with; and, by my answers to the letters written by Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquière to me on the subject, you will see what His Majesty's views are regarding what has occurred. The better to enable you to do what he expects of you in the matter—one of the deepest interest of all, you will have to deal with on your arrival in Canada. I am very happy to explain to you more particularly in this letter, which is for you alone, the principles by which His Majesty wishes you to be guided.

All the information we have received tells us that the trouble taken by the English and the expenses they incur to win over the savages are not without success among several Nations.

We were informed last year of the progress they had already made among the savages in the vicinity of the Ohio river, otherwise known as the Belle Rivière, where they have established 119 themselves since the peace. Monsieur de Lajonquière had reported a plan he had formed, both for the purpose of driving the English away from that river and of punishing the savages who had allowed themselves to be won over. That plan was to send several detachments of French and allied savages, who would meet at a rendezvous to be indicated to them, and afterwards act in accordance with the object of the expedition. Although there were remarks to be made regarding the details of Monsieur de Lajonquière's arrangements in this matter, nevertheless, as the fundamental idea of the plan was good, and as, moreover, it was to be carried out before such remarks could reach the governor, His Majesty deemed it advisable to approve what he had done. But we

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afterwards learned from his own letters that all the operations undertaken in execution of the plan resulted merely in the removal of some English traders with their goods and in the murder of two savages of the Miamis nation.

The removal of the English traders, whose goods were confiscated and even pillaged by our savages, cannot but have a good effect by disgusting the other traders through fear of the same fate. But the murder of the two Miamis may have unfortunate results; and, in fact, I have heard that it has already caused great commotion among the rebellious nations.

Monsieur de Lajonquière claims that if his expedition did not meet with the success that was expected of it, it was because Monsieur Celoron, major commandant at Detroit, which was to be the centre of all the operations, did not properly carry out the orders and instructions he had given him.

You will, as far as possible, ascertain the exact facts of the case, and report the same to me. But it would be useless to inquire into the errors that may have been committed. It is necessary that we start from the point where we now are, and establish some of the main points in order to be able to judge of the operations that may have to be undertaken there.

The English may pretend that by the treaty of Utrecht, we are obliged to allow the savages to trade with them. But it is 120 certain that nothing can oblige us to allow such trade on our own lands.

Thus, in all the alliances or kinds of treaty or words we have had with the remote savages, we have never expressly exacted that they should renounce going to trade with the English; we have merely exhorted them to do so; and we have never forcibly opposed ourselves to that trade.

The Ohio river and the rivers that flow into it belong, incontestably, to France. They were discovered by Monsieur de Lasalle; we have always had trading posts there since then;

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and our position is all the more unquestionable, that it is the most frequented way of communication between Canada and Louisiana. It is only a few years ago that the English ventured to trade there; and now they want to exclude us.

They have not, moreover, hitherto, pretended that those rivers belonged to them; their pretension is that the Iroquois are the masters thereof, and that, as they are the sovereigns of those savages, they can exercise their rights therein. But it is unquestionable that the Iroquois have no such rights and moreover that the alleged sovereignty of the English over them is a delusion. I shall have occasion to explain the reasons for this to you in another letter.

It is, nevertheless, of the highest importance that the progress of English pretensions and encroachments in that direction be checked. Should they be successful, they would cut our communications between the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana; and one can easily foresee the injurious effects of this on both, to say nothing of the advantages they would at once derive for their trade to the prejudice of ours.

The King proposes to complain to the English Court of all these innovations, and to ask it to give orders to have them stopped. But, however eager that Court may be to meet His Majesty's wishes for the maintenance of peace, such complaints cannot meet with success, at least very promptly; for, on the one hand, it is rather difficult to get conclusive proofs of the 121 most serious facts, and, on the other hand, the orders given in matters of that kind can be very easily eluded.

It is therefore necessary to act on the spot; and the only thing to be considered is the most suitable means of doing so to advantage.

We are unaware of what, Monsieur de Lajonquière may have done this year. You will be informed of it on your arrival in Quebec. But whatever it may be, and whatever may have been the success of the same, if there still remains something to be done—as seems only

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too evident—your chief object must be to avoid, as far as possible, a war with the savages on this point.

As His Majesty himself observes to you in your instructions, such wars are always exceedingly costly; and it very rarely happens that the service derives any real benefit from them. You must even know that in most instances they are due solely to private interests, and that on all occasions you must be on your guard against the insinuations that may be made to you and the snares that may even be set for you in order to drag you into them.

Thus without undertaking, as Monsieur de Lajonquiere's idea seemed to be, to make the savages who have for some time been looked upon as rebellious or are suspected of being so, withdraw from the Ohio river, and without trying to take away the freedom of their trade, you must keep these two principal objects in view:

1. To make every possible effort to drive the English away from our lands in that region, and to prevent their coming there to trade, by seizing their goods and destroying their posts.
2. To make our savages understand at the same time that we have nothing against them, that they will be at liberty to go and trade with the English in the latter's country, but that we will not allow them to receive them on our lands.

If you attain these two ends, you will secure the tranquility of our possessions in that quarter; and, by so doing, it is certain that—provided magazines well stocked with goods be maintained there and our traders be prevented from laying down the law to the savages—our trade will soon become greater than that of the English as it used to be; because everybody knows the savages do not like to go and trade in their towns or forts.

Such are the King's instructions as to your conduct in connection with all the movements now disturbing the upper country. There remains but to speak to you of one article relating thereto, and which was dealt with in a solemn council held by Monsieur de Lajonquiere in

the month of July last with the Nontaguez of the five Iroquois nations in the presence of the chiefs of the domiciled Iroquois, of the Abenakis of St. Francois, and of the Outaouois of Michilimakinak. The Nontaguez stated in their speeches that the lands of the Ohio river belonged to them. Monsieur de Lajonquiere replied to them in such manner as to favor their pretension, by giving them to understand that the French would not establish themselves on those lands without their permission. The remark I have already made to you regarding the pretensions of the English must lead you to judge that such answer of Monsieur de Lajonquière has not been approved. In fact the King wishes you to take every opportunity to destroy the impression it may have produced and prevent the consequences that might arise therefrom by disabusing the minds of the Iroquois on this subject. As I have already told you, they have no right to the Ohio river. We had discovered it before they frequented that country; and we even frequented it when there were no other savages than the Choüanons with whom they were at war and who have always been our friends.

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1752: EXPLOITING THE POSTS

[Letter from the French minister to Du Quesne, dated June 16, 1752. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 30.]

Versailles , June 16, 1752.

Monsieur —Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquiere sent me, with his letter of the 25th of October last, a statement of the receipts and expenditure he had made with the proceeds of the leases of the post and of the licenses he has issued for the upper country.

From the knowledge you have already obtained of the affairs of the government, you are aware that only a few years ago the majority of the posts were famed out, and that it has been arranged that out of the proceeds of these leases, and of the licenses which the Governor and Lieutenant General grants for the trade in the upper country, he is to

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take the allowances of the officers employed at the posts, and distribute something to poor widows of officers and give other aid by way of alms or charity to the amount of ten thousand livres per annum; and Monsieur de Lajonquiere's statement of accounts relates to that arrangement.

When it was decided to establish this system two chief objects were in view: one, to take away from the officers employed at the posts all interest in the trade carried on there, and thereby prevent abuses that would continually give rise to complaints on the part of the traders and of the savages; the other was to add to the King's treasury for the payment of the expenses of the posts.

It seems that those two advantages should effectively result from the arrangement in question. In fact, as the officers commanding the posts are no longer interested in the trade, they ought to be more inclined to see that it is carried on properly and without abuse; and thus it should be more advantageous.

It has, however, been represented to me that the exclusive right conferred by the leases is subject to drawbacks all the more difficult to avoid that the majority of the officers commanding the posts are interested in the farming out, and the lessees are to a certain extent obliged to associate them in it; it has been proposed to me to do away with the farming out, and leave the trade free at the posts by imposing certain conditions on the traders who may wish to go there, either as regards the payment of licenses, or the transporting of provisions, or even supplying certain articles for the King's stores at certain posts.

This matter requires serious consideration. I beg you to give it special attention; and when you have obtained the necessary information to enable you to judge whether it is expedient to continue the farming-out system or to make any change in the same, you will please report to me thereon.

The post of Chagouamigon is one of those that are farmed out. The widow of the Sieur La Ronde, a captain, had been granted the enjoyment of one third of the proceeds of the lease for the period expiring this year, in consideration of the expense incurred by her husband in establishing that post from which he had not had time to obtain any benefit. Monsieur de la Jonquière has represented to me that that widow is in a condition requiring fresh assistance; and he has proposed to me to grant her the enjoyment of one third of the proceeds of the farming out of the post for a further term of three years. I find it objectionable to thus perpetuate a favor of that kind. Nevertheless, I rely upon you regarding what you may think should be done in favor of the Widow La Ronde, after obtaining information respecting her condition and that of her family which is said to be numerous. But, if she be really in need, I think it would be still better were you to make her participate in the distribution of aid you will have to make to the widows of officers by doing something more for her than for the others, in proportion to her wants.

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1752: SAULT STE. MARIE

[Extract of a letter from the French minister to Du Quesne, dated June 16, 1752. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 34.]

Versailles , June 16, 1752.

Monsieur —I reply to the letters written me by Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquiere on the 4th, 5th, 6th, 25th, and 28th of October last year, regarding the establishment of various posts.

* * * * *

In one of my despatches written last year to Monsieur de Lajonquiere, I had told him I had obtained approval for the construction of a fort at Sault Ste. Marie and the proposal to cultivate the land and raise cattle there. It is impossible not to approve the arrangements

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made for effecting such establishment. But we must take into consideration the fact that the cultivation of the land and the breeding of cattle must be the chief object, and the fur-trade merely an accessory. Nevertheless, as one can hardly hope to grow any other grain there than Indian corn, it will be necessary, at least for some time, to be satisfied with that and not to persist in trying to grow wheat. Even the care of the cattle must take precedence at that post over the cultivation of land, because as Detroit and the other Southern posts become settled they will supply an abundance of grain to the Northern posts, which will send them cattle in return.

* * * * *

1752: THE TRADE AT DETROIT

[Letter from Longueuil, on business affairs. Document in Chicago Historical Society MSS., O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 215.]

Monsieur —I have received all the letters that you have done me to honor of writing me receive if you please my sincere 126 thanks and pardon me for my negligence in not having replied to all the kind letters that you have written me you do not acknowledge the receipt of a single letter. I believe, however that you will write more in the future I shall be more careful to renew to you the tender, warm and sincere assurances of my complete attachment. You will be surprised at the smallness of the returns that I have made for you this year. If your merchandise had been of another kind it would have all been sold. I will make you an inventory tomorrow of all that remains for you. I owe you for 738 lrs 6 s 6 e price of the invoice.

I have given orders that what remains shall be remitted to the petit Blomb.

I have written to my father to credit you with the sum of a thousand livres in letter of exchange I informed him that there would remain 250 lr of indebtedness that you would pay next year That my dear sir is all that I could sell. that which I sent to ouitanont has

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come back to me in the same kind, and all spoiled [?] If I could have done better with my own business ventures I would have done what you asked of me. I sold my merchandise on credit without obtaining more peltry that fell into the hands of those who sold to the savages I have given you my news do the same by me and believe that I am always yours wholly Monsieur

Your very humble and very obedient servant Longueuil 65

65 This was probably Charles Jacques Le Moyne de Longueuil, who commanded a convoy to relieve Detroit in 1752; see ante, p. 117. It has usually been attributed to his uncle, the Chevalier de Longueuil, who would hardly speak thus of his father, who had been dead for many years.— Ed.

At Detroit , August 3, 1752.

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1752: GRANT OF LA BAYE

[Extract of letter from Du Quesne to the French minister, dated Aug. 21, 1752. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 98, folio 15."]

Monseigneur —

* * * * *

Monsieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil,⁶⁶ like an honest man, has told me the state of his affairs, which are embarrassed. Although I have only been a very short time in the Colony, Monseigneur, I have obtained reliable information that the Government entrusted to him is exceedingly expensive owing to The excessive expenses occasioned him by all who go to And come from Montreal. It is a ruinous custom at present on account of the Dearness of provisions, but with which a man occupying the position cannot refuse to comply. To set him on his feet I propose to you, Monseigneur, to grant him the post of la Baye on

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condition that it be exploited by the officer whom the governor-general shall find sufficiently capable and prudent to manage the great number of savages in that region.

66 This officer is noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 456. The following additional facts have been gathered from recently-published calendars of Paris manuscripts: François Vaudreuil, Marquis de Rigaud, was the eighth son of Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada (1703–25). Born in 1703 (not 1705) he became lieutenant in 1724, and received the cross of St. Louis in 1738. At the close of King George's War (1748) he became king's lieutenant at Quebec, the following year being promoted to the governorship of Three Rivers. During the French and Indian War his services were important. In 1755 he was captured by the English in a vessel at sea. The following year, he ably seconded Montcalm in the capture of Fort Oswego. The year 1757 found him deeply engaged in the campaign of Lake George, wherein with much skill he commanded large forces of Canadians and Indians. The same year he was awarded the governorship of Montreal, left vacant at the death of Baron de Longueuil. After the capitulation of the colony, Rigaud retired to France, where he was pensioned for life. He died, probably at Tours, in 1779.— Ed.

128 Moreover, Monseigneur, I must inform you that I have already noticed that the regularity of the service is infinitely better observed at Three Rivers than at Montreal.

I shall congratulate myself, Monseigneur, if all the reasons I truly set forth to you, could procure for Monsieur de Rigaud the post I urgently ask of you for him. That governor reports to you on the two fires at Three Rivers.

I remain with profound respect, Monseigneur. Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Duquesne .

Quebec , August 21, 1752.

1752: LANGLADE CAPTURES PICKAWILLANY

[Letter from Du Quesne to the French minister, dated Oct. 25, 1752. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 23.]

Monseigneur —I have the honor to send you the Journal⁶⁷ of the Sieur de Langlade who has won much glory through the blow he struck the Band of la Demoiselle, and who brought me five Englishmen who were in the Miamis' fort. I am sending

⁶⁷ This journal of Langlade is not found with the letter, and appears to have been abstracted from the archives at a comparatively recent date; it is to be hoped that it will sometime be recovered. The document here given seems to be the only French account of this siege of Pickawillany. It is without doubt the authority for Parkman's account in *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1887), i, p. 81. The English sources are more numerous. Among these, the chief is *Journal of Captain William Trent*, already alluded to (*ante*, p. 114, note 63). Trent was a trader and interpreter employed by Virginia and the Ohio Company to assist at the treaty of Logstown in June, 1752. Thence he was deputed to carry the goods intended for the Miami, who had not appeared at the conference. Leaving Logstown June 21, the very day of the attack on Pickawillany, he soon heard rumors of this conflict; and when he reached the Scioto, found Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryer, the two traders who had escaped capture. They related to Trent that on the morning of June 21, while most of the Miami were absent upon their summer hunt, a party of 240 French and Indians appeared, captured the women at work in the cornfields, and nearly surprised the traders, of whom eight were in the outbuildings around the fort. Three traders were besieged in a house, and acted in so cowardly a manner, surrendering without showing fight, that they revealed the weak condition of the fort. In the afternoon a truce was called, and the French leader proposed to retire if the traders were given up to them. It was finally agreed to yield them up on promise that they should not be harmed—but see on this point Jared Sparks, *Franklin's Works*, iii. p. 230. The besiegers did not keep faith, for although they surrendered the captive women, they killed one wounded trader,

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and, taking out his heart, ate it. They also killed chief La Demoiselle, and feasted on his remains. The Miami also broke their word by concealing the two traders before mentioned. After a few days Trent and a considerable company went to see what had become of the fort, and found it deserted. They brought back a few furs that had escaped the plunder of the savages, the loss having aggregated £3,000 sterling. A few of the Miami, including the widow and son of La Demoiselle, escaped to the Scioto town, but a large majority returned to the French. The Pennsylvania authorities sent the Miami the following year a present valued at £200 to “cover the dead.” For additional details see *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v. pp. 599, 600; Henry Howe, *History of Ohio* (Columbus, 1889–91), Shelby County; and George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1857), iv, pp. 94, 95. In Draper MSS. 1J1–7 there are transcripts from two contemporaneous newspapers, with additional details.— Ed. 129 them to Monsieur de L'abbady, Commissioner at la Rochelle so that he may put them in prison pending your orders. I trust that this blow, added to the complete pillage suffered by the English on this occasion, will discourage them from trading on our lands.

It is so rare, Monseigneur, that a war with savages can bring about a very stable peace that I should not be surprised if, at the instigation of the English, the Miamis were to ask their Allies for help. Nevertheless, I have had no news of it, and I hope that my action in the Belle Rivière country will awe all the Nations.

As the Sieur de Langlade is not in the service and has married a Savage woman, I will content myself with asking you, 9 130 Monseigneur, for a yearly pension of 200 livres wherewith he will be highly pleased. He is acknowledged here to be very brave, to have much influence on the minds of the savages, and to be very zealous when ordered to do anything.⁶⁸ It seems to

⁶⁸ Two published accounts of the life of Charles Langlade are to be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 195–295, being related by his grandson, Augustin Grignon, in 1857, to Lyman C. Draper; the other a sketch by Joseph Tassé, vii, pp. 123–188. In addition, the “Langlade Papers” were published in viii pp. 209–223. Since that time there have been

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found further documents bearing on Langlade's career—most of these being incorporated in the present volume. These, together with the Mackinac Register, *post*, warrants the following new sketch. Charles Michel Langlade was born at Mackinac in May, 1729. If the incident related by Grignon of his accompanying troops at the age of ten be true, the expedition must have been that of Céloron against the Chickasaw, in 1739–40. Herein he would have met numbers of Canadian army officers from Montreal, and French and colonial troops from New Orleans. To this event was probably due his early enrollment in the army. Du Quesne must have been mistaken about Langlade's not being in service, for the Mackinac Register records him as being a cadet in 1750, when twenty-one years of age. The present reference to him is, so far as we have as yet ascertained, the first made in any contemporary official document. No doubt his services on the expedition of 1752 brought him prominently into notice. He was not legally married to an Ottawa woman, but early had a son by an Indian girl, whose descendants, living in Ontario, still carry the name of Langlade; see Ontario Hist. Soc. *Papers*, iii, p. 147. In 1754, at Mackinac, he legally married Charlotte Bourassa. While no doubt he for many years traded at La Baye (Green Bay) and elsewhere, there is ample and convincing evidence that until after September, 1764, his usual residence was at Mackinac. His part in the French and Indian War has been described by Grignon and Tassé. At its outbreak he was made ensign on half-pay, and campaigned against Braddock. The following winter he passed in a small post in Michigan, where (January, 1756) his daughter Charlotte was born. In 1756 he led a reinforcement of Indians to Fort Duquesne, and skirmished toward Fort Cumberland where Washington was in command. During the winter of 1756–57 he does not appear to have returned to Mackinac; at least he was in Montreal in December, and in January defeated a raid of Robert Rogers's famous rangers on Lake Champlain. In May, he was again in Montreal and led the Western Indians against Fort William Henry, where no doubt they participated in the massacre. In the autumn of 1757 Langlade was appointed second in command of Fort Mackinac, and appears to have remained there until the spring of 1759, when, with other Western partisan leaders, he served in the Quebec campaign. His share therein is explained by Tassé. His abilities gained him promotion (Feb. 1, 1760)

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to the rank of lieutenant on half-pay—his well-preserved commission, signed by King Louis at Versailles, is now the property of the Misses S. G. and D. B. Martin of Green Bay, but is deposited in the Society's library; it is one of the oldest original documents extant in Wisconsin, bearing upon the history of the State (see accompanying facsimile). He also participated in the defense of Montreal in the summer of 1760, and was sent back to Mackinac five days before its surrender. There he was in command after the departure of Beaujeu for Louisiana (see post), and finally surrendered the fort (Sept. 28, 1761) to the English under Capt. Henry Balfour of the 80th regiment (Light Armed Foot) and Lieut. William Leslie of the 60th (Royal Americans). During the next year and a half Langlade remained quietly in Mackinac, probably making trading voyages to the interior posts—doubtless La Baye among them. In April, 1763, he had planned to remove with his family to La Baye, and there establish his residence, but had not consummated this project when the conspiracy of Pontiac broke out, the fort at Mackinac being captured by the Indians (June 2, 1763). That he preserved the lives of the officers and part of the garrison, secured the neutrality of the turbulent Ottawa, and finally stayed the outbreak is abundantly proven by contemporary documents published herein. Ethrington, upon his departure for Montreal with the English survivors of the massacre, placed the command of the fort once more in the hands of Langlade, who retained it until September, 1764, when Capt. William Howard of the 17th regiment of foot was sent to re-establish British authority. It appears to have been either in the autumn of 1764 or during 1765 that the Langlades at last made their permanent home at Green Bay. In 1766, Robert Rogers, then commandant at Mackinac, addresses him as "Lieutenant Langlead at La Bay." At the outbreak of the Revolution, Langlade was sent with savage auxiliaries to the aid of Carleton, who gave him a commission as captain in the Indian department. In 1777 he was again sent with native reinforcements for Burgoyne's army, but returned before the latter's surrender. In 1778 he was dispatched to Montreal. The following years of this war found him occupied in the West, chiefly against George Rogers Clark. The remainder of his life was devoted to private interests, his services for the king being, however, well recognized. His death must have occurred after January, 1800. See autograph letter, *post.*— Ed.

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131 me, Monseigneur, that such a reward would have a very good effect in the country.

I remain with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant, Duquesne .

Quebec , October 25, 1752.

132

1753: GRANT OF LA BAYE

[Extract from a letter from the French minister to Du Quesne, dated June 30, 1753.

Source, same as preceding document, but "Amérique, série B, Canada, vol. 97, folio 45."]

Versailles , June 30, 1753.

Monsieur —

* * * * *

I have also submitted to the King your representations in favor of Monsieur de Rigaud. His Majesty having in view the making of other arrangements regarding the exploitation of the posts which it may be advisable to retain in the colony, had at first decided not to grant that of la Baye to that Governor as you had proposed. But I deemed it my duty to urge that proposal in order to procure some aid to Monsieur de Rigaud, who must in fact be in need of it owing to the expenses he is obliged to incur in his government of Three Rivers. His Majesty has been pleased to consent to your granting him the lease of that post, but for 2 years only, and he relies upon you as to the conditions you may deem advisable to impose in connection with its exploitation.

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1753: PEACE AMONG NORTHWESTERN TRIBES

[Extract from memoir of Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, May-Aug., 1753. Translated from Margry, *Découv. et Étab.*, vi, pp. 648–650.]

I had it always in mind that I ought to find a favorable occasion to conclude peace between the Cristinaux and the Sioux. But far from finding such an occasion, the stroke that the Sioux made upon the Cristinaux in July, 1752, greatly hindered my project. M. Marin junior was not less occupied than I in arranging this peace. He wrote to me the twenty-ninth of February, 1753 last, that the Sioux of the Rivers and the Lakes were very much disturbed, and did not cease to fear that the Cristinaux would take vengeance upon them for the attack previously mentioned. The Sioux desired to have an interview with the Cristinaux, with whom they were resolved to ally themselves to go and stake war upon the Sioux of the Prairies, who continually were attacking them, and even carrying away their women as prisoners.⁶⁹ He said that for tiffs purpose, he would bring to Missilimakinak several chiefs of that nation, and invited me to bring likewise with me the Cristinaux chiefs. That letter reached me May 26, at the foot of Ouenipik river.⁷⁰ It gave me extreme pleasure, all the more that the Sioux of the Prairies, who had dealt the blow had no Frenchmen among them, and in consequence were of little importance

⁶⁹ The question of the classification of the Sioux is an exceedingly difficult one. See on this subject, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 193, 194; and “Maximilian's Travels” in *Early Western Travels*, xxii, p. 305. The classification here used Sioux of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the prairies—was in vogue during the latter years of the French regime. It would seem to refer to habitat rather than gentes; but, as in this instance, the bands often acted in opposition to one another.— Ed.

⁷⁰ St. Pierre was at the post technically known as Fort Maurepas, and built by Le Vérendrye in 1734. In voyageur parlance it was known as Fort Bas de la Rivière (Foot of the River), being at the entrance to Winnipeg River from the lake of that name. The later fur-trading post on that site was called Fort Alexander. See “Franchère's Narrative” in *Early Western Travels*, vi, p. 378.— Ed.

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134 to us. I communicated the contents of that letter to the Cristinaux in a council that I held with them, and I persuaded that nation to trust me with three of their chiefs to accompany me to Missilimakinak.

* * * * *

I left the foot of Ouenipik River June 18, with the three Cristinaux chiefs, to proceed to the Grand Portage⁷¹ and thence to Missilimakinak. July 10 I found at the lake of the Woods, with the Cristinaux of that post, two of their people who had long been prisoners among the Sioux of the Rivers and of the Lakes. These had sent them to carry their message to the Cristinaux, to prove their extreme desire to live on good terms with them and to conduct them to a rendezvous in case the deputies of the two nations could not unite at Missilimakinak.

71 For this locality, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 426.— Ed.

* * * * *

We arrived at the Petits Ecores⁷² the seventh of August, where I met the chevalier de la Corne, who told me that M. Marin junior had been at Missilimakinak with several Sioux chiefs, that not being able to await my arrival, he had left to return to his post with the aforesaid chiefs. This news determined me to send back my deputies of whom M. de la Corne took charge. I do not doubt but that these two nations will live in peace.

72 This locality has not been definitely identified. The term “petit ecores” means a place where the land drops sheer into the water, but at no great height; It is also applied to the bend of a river or lake, so a good landing place in deep water is called *ecore*; so is a place where you wade out and then drop suddenly into deep water. There are many places on the north shore of Lake Superior that would answer one of these definitions.—Information sent by Lawrence J. Burpee, Librarian Carnegie Library, Ottawa, Canada.

1754: LANGLADE'S MARRIAGE CONTRACT

[Translated from MS.,⁷³ dated Aug. 11, 1754, in possession of Wisconsin Historical Society.]

⁷³ This manuscript, with several others that follow in chronological order, was presented to the Society in 1903 by members of the Grignon family. They supplement the documents known as the “Langlade Papers” in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 209–228.— Ed.

Before the Undersigned Royal notary Residing at the post of Michilimakinac, and the undermentioned witnesses, came and appeared Charles Moras, Esquire, Sieur Langlade the younger, for Himself and on his own behalf—of the one part;

[And Demoiselle Charlotte Enbroise Bourassa—of the other part.]

The said parties, acting of their own free will and inclination, in the presence and with the advice and consent of their relatives and friends hereinafter mentioned, to-wit:

On behalf of Sieur Langlade:—Sieur Augustin Moras, Esquire Sieur Langlade, and Domitilde, his father and mother; Sieur Blondeau and Demoiselle Nanette Vilneuve, his Brother-in-law and Sister;⁷⁴ Sieur Nicolas Vollar, Cousin; Demoiselle Anne Villeneuve, his Sister;⁷⁵ Monsieur Herbin, Captain of infantry Commandant for the King;⁷⁶ Sieur

⁷⁴ Langlade's mother was a sister of the Ottawa chief La Fourche. Her first husband was Daniel Villeneuve, by whom she had several children. The eldest daughter was Anne (Nanette), who married as her second husband (1745) the Sieur Blondeau.— Ed.

⁷⁵ Nicolas Volant, born in 1701 at Montreal.

This must be Agathe (not Anne) Villeneuve, Langlade's half-sister. She first married Boisguilbert, secondly Pierre le Duc *dit* Souigny, thirdly Amable Roy, and died at Green Bay leaving no children.— Ed.

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76 Louis Herbin, son of a colonial officer, was born in 1711, made second ensign at the age of sixteen, and ensign “en pied” at twenty-four. His lieutenancy dated from 1742, and the following year he was given command of Fort Chambly. During King George's War (1744–48) he was stationed at Crown Point, and made several effective raids in the direction of Saratoga. He was commandant at Mackinac (apparently 1754–57), and in the last-named year led the Indians in the Lake Champlain campaign. In 1759 he was decorated with the cross of St. Louis, and during the siege of Quebec occupied an important outpost. At its close he was sent to France, where he was pensioned by the king and lived in Alençon until about 1784. He married (1741) Marie Anne Boucher, and had one son in the service, who was slightly wounded at Quebec.— Ed.

136 Mantet, friend; Sieur Lamy Hubert, friend; Charles Gautier, nephew.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Joseph Amable Hubert, merchant of Mackinac, was frequently known as Monsieur Lamy Hubert.

For a brief sketch of Gautier, Langlade's nephew, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 100. His father and mother had, before 1740, returned to Canada where the latter died in 1749, and the former in 1757. The young Charles Gautier was left at Mackinac to live with his mother's family.— Ed.

And on behalf of the said Demoiselle Charlotte Enbroise Bourassa:—Sieur René Bourassa and Dame Lerigé Laplante, her father and mother; Sieur René Bourassa, the younger, her brother;⁷⁸ Sieur Gonneville, the younger, Cousin German;⁷⁹ René Bourassa, nephew; Demoiselle Nanette Chevalier, Sister-in-Law; Monsieur Delaunay Detisné, Esquire, Sieur Dailleboust, friend;⁸⁰ Monsieur Marin, an officer of infantry, friend;

⁷⁸ René Bourassa was born in Montreal in 1688, and there was married (1710) to Agnes Gagné. Their only son who lived, was René the younger, born in 1718 and married at Mackinac to Anne Charlotte Chevalier. This René died at Detroit in 1792. René the elder married (1721), for his second wife, Marie Catherine Leriger, daughter of Sieur

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de la Plante of the colonial army. Their youngest child was Charlotte Ambroise, born June 14, 1735, she being nineteen years old at the time of her marriage. Her father was in the upper country (region of the upper great lakes) before 1737, and finally settled at Mackinac, where he brought his family. Madame Langlade died about 1818, at her daughter's home in Green Bay.— Ed.

79 Charlotte, the younger sister of Madame Bourassa (wife of the elder René) had married Charles Desjordis de Gonneville; thus their son was cousin to the bride.— Ed.

80 The Chevaliers were a prominent Mackinac family (see Register, *post*). Originally from Montreal, Jean Baptiste was born there in 1677, and there married (1709) Marie Françoise (commonly known as Manon) Alavoine. The father was an early voyageur and trader in the upper country, whither he removed his family some time before 1719. He died shortly before 1752, and his wife in 1756, leaving a numerous family that intermarried with the best families of the upper posts. This daughter, Anne Charlotte Veronique (Nanette), was born in Mackinac in 1726, and in 1744 married René Bourassa the younger, as explained *ante*, note 78.

A Canadian, Louis Delaunay, married an Illinois woman in 1694. Dutisné was an Illinois officer (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, index); this witness was probably an Illinois descendant of these two families.

The Sieurs d'Aillebout were early connected with the upper country. in 1733 they were with De Villiers at La Baye, where one of them was wounded. In 1743 one had bought the lease of La Baye—see *Id.*, xvii, index. Joseph d'Aillebout de Coulange, probably he who signed here, married at Mackinac (1753) Marianne Parent, and had died by 1755.— Ed.

MARRIAGE CONTRACT BETWEEN CHARLES LANGLADE AND CHARLOTTE BOURASSA Dated, August 11, 1754. Reduced facsimile of part of first page of original

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137 Monsieur The Chevalier De Repentigny, Lieutenant of infantry, friend; René de Couange, the younger, friend; Louis Biscornay, friend, and Sieur Herbin, the younger, friend.⁸¹

⁸¹ For these officers, see *ante*, p. 4, note 8; p. 35, note 54.

René de Couange was of a good Montreal family. He had English affiliations, and acted as agent for Sir William Johnson among the Iroquois. After the conquest he was official interpreter at Niagara. He appears to have been frequently at Mackinac; see Register, post.

Louis, son of Pierre Caillé *dit* Biscornet was born in 1720, and married at La Prairie (1752) Marie Anne Bisailon.

The younger Herbin was made second ensign in 1757, accompanied his father to France, and was living there in 1784.— Ed.

Which said parties have Acknowledged and Admitted that they have stipulated and agreed Together in good faith to the matrimonial promises and Covenant herein contained regarding the marriage to be shortly Celebrated Between the said Charles Langlade and Demoiselle Charlotte Enbroise Bourassa who have mutually promised and do promise to take One another for Husband and wife under the law and name of marriage, the same to have Celebrated and solemnized before our mother the Holy Catholic, apostolic and Roman Church as soon as possible and as shall be advised and decided Between Them, their relatives, and friends.

The said future Consorts shall Be One and common as to Property for all Moveable and Immoveable Acquisitions they 138 may have and acquire together during their future marriage under the Coutume de Paris, in force in this country.

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Neither of the said future Consorts shall, however, be responsible for the debts of the other incurred previous to their Marriage. If any there be, they shall be paid and acquitted by the Consort who shall have incurred the same without the other being in any way liable therefor.

The said future Consorts take one another with all their Rights, Titles, suits-at-law and claims as the same may exist.

The said future Husband has and does dower his said future Wife with the sum of three thousand livres as conventional dower, the same, when once paid, to be taken from and upon each and every the moveable and immoveable properties now or hereafter owned by the said future Husband which he hereby pledges, hypothecates and gives a lien upon and also guarantees to supply and maintain the same; The said Dower to be enjoyed according to The said Coutume.

The survivor of the said future Consorts shall have and take his or her portion apart and from the Property of the said Community To the amount of the sum of fifteen Hundred Livres according to the valuation to be made of the same, and without Confusion, or one half the said sum in Cash at the Choice of the said survivor.

And in the event of the Dissolution Of the said future marriage, it shall be lawful for the said future Wife to take or accept the said Community or to Renounce the same; and in the event of Renunciation of the said Community, She may take back, free and clear of all charges, whatever she may have brought with her or may have come to her by inheritance, Gift or otherwise with her dower as aforesaid without Being liable for any debts or obligations incurred or given during the said Community, although she may have obliged herself or Have Been Condemned thereto, Wherefrom She shall be freed and wherefor she shall be indemnified out of the Property of her said husband or by his heirs, and for which reprise and indemnity are given. She shall have her claim from this day upon 139 each and every the present and future Properties of the said future Husband.

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The said parties have constituted and do constitute The bearer of these presents as their general and special attorney, giving Him all powers for obtaining the authentication thereof. All that is above contained and stipulated has been said, covenanted and agreed upon between the Appearing and Contracting parties in executing these presents—Which, otherwise and without the Clauses and Covenants therein Contained, Would not have been executed.

For thus, promising, obliging and renouncing, etc.

Done and executed in the office of the said Notary in The year one thousand, seven Hundred and Fifty-four, on The Eleventh of August, in the afternoon, in the presence of the Sieurs [Repetition of names, omitted].

In view and Contemplation Of the said future marriage and on account of the affection the said Husband has for the said future Wife, he has given and by these presents he gives irrevocably to the said future Wife, her heirs and Assigns, Thereof accepting, each and every the properties that may belong to him after his death, provided that at the time of such death there be no child Living issue of the said future marriage, For, in the Event of there being any such child, the said Gift shall be null and void As if it had never existed.

In return for the above, the said future Wife Gives the future Husband the enjoyment of all her properties, both her own proper and the Acquisitions and Goods that may belong to her after her death, provided there be no child issue of the said marriage; For, in the event of there being such a child, the said Gift shall be null and void as if it had never existed. The said Gift of the enjoyment for life of the property granted to the said future Husband during his lifetime to be subject to the Obligation of keeping the houses and hereditaments in good order; of making the usual repairs thereto that are required of

81 This is one of the usual notarial formula in all deeds.— Crawford Lindsay.

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140 an usufructuary during his life-time; of delivering the same over in good Order when the usufruct Constituted by the said Gift ends, and of having the said present Gift registered Where ever the same may be necessary.

The said parties have constituted and do constitute The bearer of these presents Their General and special attorney, giving Him all powers.

For thus, promising, obliging, Renouncing, etc.

Done and executed, after this contract was duly Read in the presence of the parties, their relatives and friends who signed the original of the same with the said Notary, after it was Read according to the ordinance.

Cardin 83

83 François Louis Cardin went to Mackinac as a soldier in the garrison. Having married (1751) Constance Chevalier, widow of Joseph Ainse, he remained in the upper country and was made royal notary, which office he held until the coming of the English.— Ed.

Royal Notary.

By order of Sieur Jacques Joseph Guiton, Councillor of the King, Lieutenant-general of the Royal jurisdiction of Montreal, issued on Friday, the eighteenth April, one thousand seven Hundred and sixty, the gifts set forth in the above transcribed contract of marriage were registered and recorded in the Registre des insinuations [Register of Records] of this Court by the Clerk and the Undersigned at the request of the said Sieur De Langlade, bearer of the said Contract of marriage, made on the said day.

[Signature illegible.]

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1754: THE UPPER POSTS

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[Extract from a letter from Du Quesne to the French minister, dated Oct. 13, 1754.
Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, pp. 262, 263.]

My Lord —I have the honor to report to you what occurred at the posts during the year.

The Indians of the North are very quiet because Sieur Marin, who commands at The Bay and leads the Indians at will, has procured repose for them by the peace he has caused to be concluded with the Christinaux.

The Sauteux of Camanestigwia and Michipicoton have had a difficulty among themselves. Seventeen of them have been killed, but this animosity, which is at present abated, has been prejudicial only to the hunting, and they are now quiet.

Chevalier de Repentigny, who commands at the Sault St. Mary, is busily engaged with the settlement of his post, which is essential for stopping all the Indians who come down from Lake Superior to Choueguen, but I do not hear it said that this post yields a great revenue.

The Poutwatamis, Kickapoux, Mascoutins and Scioux of the Prairies, have assembled together to go and destroy the Peorias, who, for a long time, regard with insolence the other Indians; they are, moreover, people of no faith, who steal with impunity, even in their neighbors' cabins.

This war, in which I am not at all interested, can be productive only of a good effect in putting down such banditti; I have, nevertheless, ordered the Commandants to adjust all matters after these rascals will have received a sharp lesson.

As I had fixed for the Peanguichias to be at the Miamis where Sieur Péan would pass,⁸⁴ and as those Indians have waited

⁸⁴ Michel Jean Hugues Péan was born in Canada in 1723, son of Sieur de Livaudière, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 205. The younger Péan, after having served in Acadia, was assistant to his father as town-major of Quebec (1745). In 1750 he was ordered to

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France, but returned to Canada before the coming of Du Quesne, with whom he was a favorite. He was sent out in 1753 as second in command under Marin to build the forts on the upper Ohio, and then to proceed down that river and receive the submission of the chastised Miami. He was, however, detained in the region of Rivère au Bœuf until too late in the season to move southward. He thereupon cut the portage road at Chautauqua (Oct., 1753) and returned to Canada. The year 1754 found him again on the Ohio, whence he was ordered to visit the upper posts, via Presqu'isle and Detroit. In 1755 he was made major of Montreal, and the next year was awarded the cross of St. Louis. Through the connection of his wife with Bigot, the intendant, Péan was concerned in the dishonest plundering of the king's stores. In 1757 and 1758 he provisioned the armies on Lake Champlain, and in the latter part of the second year went to France, ostensibly for his health, in reality to protect the association of peculators. On the downfall of New France, he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained several years—finally gaining release on the payment of a fine of 600,000 francs. In 1765 he was living quietly in Paris, where he probably died.— Ed.

142 for that officer with all possible patience, nearly a month, evincing great repentance for their fault, I have ordered the Commandant of the Wyatanons, whither that nation had retired, to grant them pardon on condition that they would bring me, next year, the murderers; by this means it may be calculated that these Indians have at present submitted.

1754: RIGAUD AND THE LEASE OF LA BAYE

[Letter from Du Quesne to the French minister, dated Oct. 31, 1754. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 99, fol. 311."]

Monseigneur —I have the honor to inform you that Monsieur de Rigaud Vaudreuil, governor of Three Rivers, has urgently asked me leave to go to France to endeavor to restore his health as he is convinced that the physicians of Paris will cure him completely. I have not deemed it advisable to refuse him such permission, because, in his present state,

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he is hardly able to perform the duties of his government wherein the closest attention to details is required.

143

On my arrival in this colony, I reported to Monsieur Rouillé that I gave the post of la Baye to that governor on the statement of his affairs he communicated to me, and, although at the time I showed him the answer of that minister who granted it to him for two years only, and who left the conditions that were to be imposed on him to me, he was given to understand here that, holding such post from the Court, he was not subject to any lease. This led him to speak very unadvisedly to everybody and even induced him to write to me that he held that post gratuitously from the King and consequently had no rent to pay.

I had much trouble in making him see his error, and still more in getting the lease of his post from him, because his vanity led him to wish to have recourse to your decision, notwithstanding the orders I was compelled to give him a second time.

I cannot refrain from telling you, Monseigneur, that this Governor, who through kindheartedness allows himself to be persuaded by the first-comer, has caused me more trouble to restrain than the whole colony since he has known that Monsieur his brother is to succeed me. I respect your time too much, Monseigneur, to enter into details regarding his ill-advised conduct. It will suffice me that he present himself to you to allow of your judging his capability.

I remain with profound respect. Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Duquesne .

Quebec , October 31, 1754.

1754: ROUTES TO THE UPPER COUNTRY

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[Information furnished probably by John Pattin. MS. in Massachusetts Historical Society; pressmark, 61L93.]

The French have several different Routs by which their trade is carried on between Canada & Mississippi & the numerous 144 Tribes of Indians that live about the Lakes & Rivers between them. The first is by the River Outaouais [Ottawa] which rises from Lake Nipising & empties it self into the River St. Law ce a little above Mont Real, they go up this River into Lake [Nipising from this Lake by the River Francois to Lake Huron and along the whole length of the Lake to Missilimakinak on the West side of the Lake. This passage is very tedious and difficult its being on account of the vast Number of Falls and also its being all the way against the Stream,⁸⁵ and yet is very frequently made use of by the Indians & Traders rather than the passage by the Lakes, because whenever there is a high wind if they go by the Lakes they are obliged to lay by as long it lasts, their tender Canoes not being able to live amongst the large Waves that are then raised in these inland Seas. The Passage from Mont Real to this place generally takes up about three Months. I do not knew of any Fort the French have in this Rout but at this place, which has formerly been a place of very great trade, and had formerly a fort with a Garrison of about thirty Soldiers, but now there are but three or four Soldiers with a subaltern maintained here.⁸⁶ Another and an easier Passage to Missilimakinac is from Mont Real up the River St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario which is about 80 Leagues this upon account of the rapidness of the River and the Falls, of which there are five, is never performed under Twenty days & sometimes it requires twice that time Between Mont Real & Lake Ontario the French have two Forts one about twelve Leagues above Mont Real, the other about forty Leagues from

⁸⁵ The usual route to the upper country. Many descriptions exist of this voyage. Among the best are those of Lahontan in 1688; see Thwaites, *Lahontan's New Voyages* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 218, 219; Henry In 1761, see Bain, *Henry's Travels* (Boston, 1901), pp. 13–36; Franchère in 1814, see *Early Western Travels*, vi, pp. 397–399.— Ed.

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86 This appears to be an exaggeration, for until the downfall of New France the commandant at Mackinac was always of the rank of captain, save for a brief period when Lieut. Charles Langlade, second in command, succeeded to full control.— Ed.

145 the Lake.⁸⁷ On the north side of Lake Ontario near where it discharges it self into the River S t . Lawrence is situated Fort Frontenac which is built entirely of Stone & is about 100 Yards Square, and mounts ten Carriage Guns 6 Pounders about Forty Leagues from this on the North side of the Lake is Fort Trunto [Toronto] which the French began to build but a few years ago. In the Year 1750 it was not finished had no Cannon, but had Embrasures made for that Purpose this Fort was built to prevent the Indians (who used to cross the Lake at this Place) from going to Oswego. From Fort Frontenac they proceed on Lake Ontario, about eighty Leagues to the Falls of Niagara. Upon this Lake the French have two or three Vessels of 60 or 70 Tons. The Falls occasion a Portage of about three Leagues after which they reimbark and pass to Lake Erie. At the West End of the Falls the French have a Fort about 80 Yards long & fifty Yards broad mounted with five Carriage & five Swivel Guns besides some Chamber peices and about [above] the fails they have built a strong Stone trading house. By this trading house & Fort, & the two Forts. on the North side of the Lake they have stopped a great part of the trade of the Indians to Oswego and gained it to themselves. From Niagara Fort to the East End of Lake Erie is about 20 Leagues. This Lake they sail over above one hundred Leagues. In the year 1750 the French built a small palisadoed fort and garrisoned it with about twenty men upon a river on the south west side of Lake Erie.⁸⁸ From Lake Erie they sail about 12 Leagues to Fort Detroit. This is a large Pallisadoed Fort containing about 100 small Log & other 10

⁸⁷ The latter of these was La Presentation, a mission and fort, for which see *ante*, p. 37, note 57. The former was probably Fort St. Regis, at the site of the Jesuit mission of that name. In 1751, Père Antoine Gordon led a party of Caughnawaga to St. Regis Island, just below Cornwall, Ont., and there built a picket fort around which he clustered his neophytes.— Ed.

88 This fort at Sandusky, built in 1750, was occupied but a short time. Apparently after the razing of Pickawillany, it ceased to be of use. In 1754 De Léry found the ruins at the southeastern end of the portage from Lake Erie, on the northwestern side of Sandusky Lake or Bay. The fort that the Indians destroyed in Pontiac's conspiracy (1763) was a new post built by the English in 1761. Note this correction of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 236, note 2.— Ed.

146 houses. There are four hundred men settled in and about this fort. They raise Grain & most kind of Provisions. Often four hundred traders meet here at a time. From Fort Detroit they sail to Lake Huron three Leagues, all which way the French have Plantations. Upon Lake Huron they proceed to Missilimakinac One Hundred & twenty Leagues. From Missilimakinac One Hundred & twenty Leagues. From Missilimakinac they have two Routs to Mississippi. The first is from Missilimakinac ninety Leagues on the Lake Illinois to the Lake de Puans, thence to the River d'Puans eighty Leagues.⁸⁹ Thence up the same to a Portage of about four Miles over to the River Ouisconsing⁹⁰ thence forty Leagues to the River Mississippi. From the Mouth of Ouisconsing River to the Mouth of the River Mississippi in the Bay of Mexico is computed 550 Leagues. The other is from Missilimakinac to the Lake Illinois four Leagues, thence one hundred & fifty Leagues on the Lake to the river Chigagou, up the River Chigagou they sail but three Leagues to a Portage of a quarter of a League, then they enter a small lake of a mile, and have another small Portage to the River Illinois⁹¹ thence down the same one hundred &

89 "Lake de Puans" is the modern Green Bay, which from its size was frequently termed "Lac" on French maps. The writer intends to say that it was ninety leagues to the entrance of Green Bay, and eighty leagues up its length to the mouth of "River d'Puans" (Fox River). This is an exaggeration of the distance from Mackinac to the mouth of Fox River, which in reality is about 240 miles. The distances appear to be exaggerated throughout this entire memoir.— Ed.

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90 The portage on the site of the modern town of Portage, Wis., was a marshy plain about a mile and a half in length.— Ed.

91 The portage trail at Chicago left Chicago River where the north and south branches unite, and passed over the prairie in a direction slightly south of west to a depression, or slough, known as Mud (or Portage) Lake, thence into Desplaines River. The distance varied with the season of the year and the consequent height of water. In the course of forming the drainage canal, this slough has been filled. It extended east from Summit, in Lyons Township and was in reality part of the west fork of the south branch of Chicago River. See map of portage path in 1820, in Thwaites, *Mrs. Kinzie's Waubun* (Chicago, 1901), p. 146.— Ed.

THE CHICAGO PORTAGE From the United States government survey (ca . 1820) of the region of the portage and site of Chicago, in possession of the Chicago Historical Society

147 thirty Leagues to Mississippi. The River Illinois empties itself into Mississippi One hundred & fifty Leagues below Ouisconsin. These were the only Routs that the French were acquainted with formerly from Canada to Mississippi. The next that they discovered which is a shorter one was to sail thro' the Lakes to the West end of Lake Erie where it receives the River Miamis thence on that River about 80 Leagues to a portage of about three Leagues. This River has many small Falls & ripling places. The French have a fort near the Portage.⁹² Then upon a small shallow River forty Leagues to the River Oubasch & on that River one hundred & Twenty Leagues to where it Joins the River Ohio, thence eighty Leagues down Ohio to Mississippi, thence three hundred & fifty Leagues to the Bay of Mexico. It is but lately they have been fully acquainted with the Shortest & best Rout which is to proceed but a little way upon Lake Erie then to embark upon a small River that comes into the Lake on the south side on which they proceed to a portage of [blank] miles then embark on the River o Beauf which falls into the Ohio this is so much more convenient both for a Passage & for connecting the two extremities

92 For the location and history of Fort Miami, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 131. The distance from Lake Erie is about as given here, or 180 miles. There were two portages on the headwaters of the Maumee (Miami of the Lakes): One from St. Mary's to Little River, about eight miles in length, varying with the season, and thence for a few miles down Little River to the Wabash proper. The one here described was the portage from just above the forks of the Maumee and St. Joseph to Eel River, which parallels the Wabash for many miles. According to Croghan, this portage was nine miles in dry weather and half as many during freshets; see his "Letters and Journals" in *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 148–150. This route via the Maumee and Wabash was the chief trade-route of that region during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, after the Fox wars had made the two former-mentioned portage routes unsafe. It has been called the Indian Appian Way.— Ed.

148 of the French Possessions together and for cutting off[f] all communication between the English & the Indians & the securing them & their trade to themselves that the French are determined at all events to make themselves masters of it if possible for this purpose besides the Forts already mentioned that command the most important passes upon & out of the Lakes, They last Year marched a large Army of French Indians from Canada & another from Mississippi to the Ohio built a large Fort mounted with Cannon near the carrying place to the River o beauf and another within Fifteen Miles of that on this River, have this Year [1754] seized a Fort built by the Govnm t . of Virginia on the Forks of Monongahela where that River empties it self into the Ohio⁹³ and they propose another Fort within a Few miles at a Place called Logs Town the chief place of Resort of the Indians that live at the Southward of the Lakes & upon the Ohio or the Rivers that run into it. They have also lately, built a small Fort where the River Oubasch joins the River Ohio.⁹⁴

93 Forts Presqu'isle and Le Bœuf were built in the summer of 1753, by the expedition under Sieur Marin, the former on the site of Erie, the latter at Waterford, Pa. At the latter fort Washington met Gardeur de St. Pierre in December, 1753. In the spring of 1754 Fort Machault was built by the expedition under Sieur Contrecoeur, who later seized the

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stockade begun by the Virginia troops on the site of Pittsburgh, and erected there Fort Duquesne— Ed.

94 No fort was built by the French at Logstown, but they here erected numbers of log huts for the use of the tribesmen. The report of a fort at the mouth of the Wabash probably arose from the following circumstance: When Marin was sent out with his expedition in 1753, the commandant of the Illinois was ordered to send by way of the Ohio a convoy with provisions to join the Canadian detachment. Accordingly one hundred men with a large quantity of provisions, under the command of Captain de Mazilières, left the Illinois on Sept. 1, 1753. When this expedition reached the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), Lieutenant de Portneuf was detached on a reconnoissance by land. After some blind wanderings, he finally arrived at the Shawnee village at the mouth of the Scioto, where information was received of Marin's expedition. But on the chiefs assuring Portneuf of the hostile disposition of the savages, and that his own life was in danger, he hastily decamped during the night, and made the best of his way back to the Illinois. Receiving no news from Portneuf or Marin, and his men deserting in numbers, de Mazilières built a small post of pickets, cached his provisions, and returned to the Illinois, where he arrived Nov. 19. Portneuf arrived a few days later. This abortive expedition is related in a letter of Chevalier de Kerlérec, governor of Louisiana, and is printed in Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* (Paris, 1903), pp. 55–57. — Ed.

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From Logs Town to the Mouth of the River Oubasch is near 600 Miles from thence to Mississippi eighty leagues from thence to the Bay of Mexico thence [three] hundred & fifty Leagues.

1755: LANGLADE COMMISSIONED ENSIGN

[Commission to Charles Langlade, dated March 15, 1755. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Colonies, civil and military officers, série D, vol. 2, fol. 101½."]

From the King.

His Majesty, having chosen Sieur Langlade to serve as Ensign unattached with the troops maintained in Canada, orders the Governor, his Lieutenant-General of New France, to receive and acknowledge him in such capacity of Ensign unattached of all those to whom and as the same may appertain.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ This commission was found in a volume where a series of formula, or sample commissions, is given for reference—this one having happened to be chosen for that purpose. It authenticates the commission of lieutenant given Feb. 1, 1760, to the same officer, now on deposit in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society (and published *post*), since it is drawn in precisely the same terms, rank and date only varying.— Ed.

Given at Versailles the 15th March, 1755.

150

1755: INSTRUCTIONS FOR VAUDREUIL

[Source, same as preceding document, but série B, vol. 101, fol. 3.]

Memorandum from the King to serve as instructions to the Sieur de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, captain in the navy, governor and lieutenant-general of New France .⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Pierre de Rigaud, marquis of Cavagnal and Vaudreuil, left Louisiana, where he was governor, May 8, 1753, soon after the arrival of his successor, Louis Billouart, Sieur de Kerlérec. During the remainder of 1753 and 1754 Vaudreuil was in Paris, where (Jan. 1, 1755) he received his commission as governor of Canada. This was registered in Quebec July 10, after his arrival (June 23) at the colonial capital. For biographical sketch, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 31.— Ed.

Versailles , March 22, 1755.

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New France, the government whereof His Majesty has been pleased to confer upon the Sieur de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal comprises Canada, l'Isle Royale, and Louisiana with their dependencies.

* * * * *

In addition to those forts, there is one in each of the posts of the upper country, which are commanded by officers chosen by the governor-general. As a rule, the choice of such commandants will demand special attention on the part of the Sieur de Vaudreuil, because, apart from ordinary talents, they must possess sufficient knowledge to make them fit to govern the various nations at such posts, and those which axe in the habit of frequenting them; but as the commandants destined for forts St. Frederic, Frontenac, and Niagara must also be capable of conducting the defence of those forts should occasion arise, the Sieur de Vaudreuil must bear in mind that he cannot take too many precautions to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the officers who may deserve the preference got such commands, so as to make a proper choice when commandants are to be appointed.

His Majesty is pleased to add a general remark here regarding the posts, and that is that such establishments must not be 151 undertaken without much reflection and for well-ascertained motives of sufficient necessity or utility. His Majesty is aware that they who propose them are never in want of specious and plausible reasons in favor of their establishment being adopted; they always allege the good of trade or the necessity of restraining some savage nation, but it has only too often been proved that they were actuated by private interest. Such posts, moreover, are very expensive for His Majesty, and that is one of the chief causes of the immense increase in the colony's expenses for some years. Thus His Majesty desires that, not only shall the Sieur de Vaudreuil not agree to the establishment of any new post until he has thoroughly ascertained its advantages, but moreover that he shall find out whether, among the number established some time ago, and even before the last war, there be not some that can be dispensed with, and in

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such case, he shall at once suppress them. And, to enable His Majesty to judge for himself of the usefulness of all the posts he may retain, he wishes him to send him a statement setting forth the time when they were established, the reasons therefor, the advantages derived from them, and the manner in which they are exploited.

Of all the branches of the administration confided to the Sieur de Vaudreuil, that which demands his most constant attention is the government of the savages. He is informed that Canada is inhabited by numerous nations, all the more difficult to restrain that their most ordinary trait of character is frivolity and fickleness. The experience acquired by the Sieur de Vaudreuil on this important point, and the reputation he has long had among all those nations, lead His Majesty to hope he will make use of those advantages with all the success His Majesty can desire on the most important occasions; but, whatever confidence he may have in him, he cannot dispense with entering into some special explanations regarding the principles which must guide him in this respect.

His Majesty wishes him to devote all the attention in his power to avoiding war with the savages as much as possible. 152 In Canada there are people greatly opposed to this principle, but it is none the less true that wars of that sort serve most frequently only to occasion much expense and to disturb the peace of the Colony without producing any real benefit. And it is equally certain that most of them have been caused solely by private interests. Thus the Sieur de Vaudreuil cannot be too much on his guard against all the suggestions that may be made to him in that respect.

It is not, however, advisable to endure certain insults from the savages, and His Majesty is far from wishing this to be done; on the contrary, he wishes and it is in fact necessary that firmness be used in certain cases to restrain them. The evil is—and His Majesty has had more than one occasion of observing it—that it is a rather common thing in Canada to make a great commotion, and even to start wars in connection with private incidents of trade of but little interest to the nation, while insults are endured that make us despised, and the toleration of which brings on the greatest disturbances.

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The Sieur de Vaudreuil will have to strive to affect another change in the system of governing the savages in Canada. With the view of keeping them occupied and of weakening them, it has been deemed advisable to take every opportunity to foment and encourage wars between them. Such a policy, which is quite opposed to the feelings of justice and humanity that animate His Majesty, might have been advantageous and perhaps even necessary when the colony was first established. But, in view of the extent to which those nations are to-day reduced, and of their dispositions in general, it is better in every way that the French should play the part of protectors and peace-makers among them; they will have more attachment and consideration for the French, the colony will be more tranquil, and His Majesty will be spared considerable expense, besides the fact that Frenchmen are always killed on those occasions. Cases may, nevertheless, arise where it is expedient to bring about war against nations badly disposed toward the French, and who might openly declare themselves against 153 them. But even in such cases there are two things to be observed; one is, to first endeavor to win over those same nations by reconciling them with the faithful ones; and the other is to make sure, as far as possible, that the latter will not suffer too much from such wars.

There is still another principle that has long been adopted in Canada, and His Majesty observes that it is followed on all occasions: it is to take the savage nations from the places they have chosen as their retreat, and to bring them near the French posts. The spirit of trade has contributed more than anything else to inspire such manner of thinking and of acting. As a rule it is making a very bad use of His Majesty's money, of the authority or credit of the commandants, to employ them for migrations of that kind. The allied savages must be considered as being in their proper place everywhere, provided it be neither on English territory nor in the vicinity of any nation openly hostile to the French, and without paying too much heed to the traders' profits, nor to the prejudices of many people in that respect. The Sieur de Vaudreuil must leave certain nations at liberty to wander over the lands of the colony, provided they receive no strangers; for the latter point is the most essential.

His Majesty has also had occasion to remark, in the various reports sent him on what occurs in connection with the savages, that for some years they have amused themselves by accepting collars and flags from the English, and afterward taking them to the French to get presents from the latter. All this is very costly for His Majesty and is, moreover, unbecoming. It is not right to be duped by such deceitful conduct. The Sieur de Vaudreuil must put a stop to it and this will be all the more difficult to do that in only too many instances, such conduct is favored by the French themselves.

* * * * *

Given at Versailles , March 22nd, 1755.

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1755: REGULATIONS FOR TRADE AT THE UPPER POSTS

[Ordinance, dated May 29, 1755, extended to July 6, annexed to a letter from Du Quesne, dated July 15, 1755. Source, same as preceding document, but "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 100, folio. 41."]

It having come to our knowledge that many voyageurs who obtain licenses multiply the number of canoes as much as they please without fear of inquiry regarding such abuse, as well as regarding brandy which they carry in excess of the quantity allowed, we have deemed it indispensable to remedy all such abuses, based on bad faith and independence, by means of the following articles:

Article 1.

When a canoe shall arrive at * * * the Sieur * * *, the commandant at such post, shall cause our permit to be shown him, and shall ascertain, with all the attention we deem him capable of with regard to the execution of our orders, whether the number of canoes is not in excess of that allowed by us, and, in the event of contravention, he shall seize and

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confiscate the whole cargo of the person who has committed the fraud, shall sell the same and send us the proceeds thereof W be distributed to the hospitals. He shall likewise send us, under good and safe custody, the person who had charge of the said cargo.

Article 2.

We order the Sieur * * * to make equally accurate inquiry regarding the quantity of brandy allowed and we order him, in the event of contravention, to inflict the same punishment under this article as under that regarding the number of canoes in excess.

Article 3.

Having been further informed that a number of voyageurs who go to the upper (Country, establish their residence there, without our permission, either to trade by stealth between one 155 post and another, or again to lead a dissolute life with the savage women, and being desirous of remedying an abuse so prejudicial to the welfare of the colony in every respect; we Order the Sieur * * * to send back to us all who, within the extent of his post, are not acknowledged to be domiciled at * * * and who are reputed Coureurs de bois.

Article 4.

We further order the Sieur * * * not to send to trade in the posts outside his jurisdiction, and to arrest all who may come by stealth to trade within it; to send them to us under good and safe custody, confiscating the goods in their charge for the benefit of the hospitals. We do not allow him to remain ignorant of the fact that this regulation is a general one in order to confine each commandant to the limits of his post with regard to ordinary and legitimate trade.

Article 4—Fort Detroit.

We further Order the said Sieur * * * to cause to be confiscated and burned all prohibited goods brought to Detroit, and to send us under good and safe custody the persons in

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charge of canoes who may have contravened the prohibitions above set forth which we repeat in all their force and vigor.

Article 5.

We further Order that this our regulation be read and published in order that no one may plead ignorance thereof.

Done at Montreal the 29th of May, 1753.

The same regulation for St. Joseph and for Detroit with the addition of the prohibited trade.

Done at Quebec the 6th of July, 1755.

Duquesne.

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1755: CONCESSION OF POST OF LA BAYE

[Letter from the French minister to Vaudreuil, dated July 15, 1755. Source, same as preceding document, but série B, vol. 101, folio 17.]

Compiègne , July 15, 1755.

You are informed, Monsieur, of the application made by Monsieur de Rigaud for the extension of the lease of the post of La Baye. On the report made by me on it to the King, and on the representations in support of it, His Majesty has ordered me to tell you that he approves of your extending the concession of that post for two years. But there can be no question of any further extension; and His Majesty desires that, after the expiration of such two years, the arrangements for the exploitation of the post of La Baye shall be the same as those made for the other trading posts of the colony, and he will await the

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suggestions you may have to make respecting such arrangements after you have inquired into everything that has occurred in connection with the matter.

1755: UPPER POSTS AND DETROIT

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated Oct. 30, 1755. Source, same as preceding document, but "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 100, folio 132."]

Montreal L, October 30, 1755.

Monseigneur —Although I have been very busy in making suitable arrangements to oppose the progress of the English, I have nevertheless devoted my attention to everything regarding the nations of the Upper countries. I have carefully examined the reports sent by the commandants of every post, and have, moreover, obtained every possible information so as not to remain ignorant of anything.

It is certain, Monseigneur, that the Upper countries generally have been greatly neglected in every respect. Most of the 157 savage nations are at war with one another. I have also discovered that several of those nations had received collars and messages from the English. I have given suitable orders to restore good order and police at every post. I have likewise taken steps in connection with everything that might secure us the loyalty of the Nations without causing the King any expense. I have been informed that they await my arrival with impatience. The Outaouas, folle avoine, Sakis, and Renards chiefs have told me how pleased they were to see me. They have informed me that the pleasure of the remotest nations would be equal to their own. They wanted to undertake to go and tell them that they had seen me to convince them that the English had wrongly boasted that they would capture me on the sea, and that I should never come to this Colony. I flatter myself that, next spring, I shall see the chiefs of all the nations, and that I shall succeed in rendering their attachment to the French inviolable.

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I have no doubt, Monseigneur, that you are aware of the excellence of the Lands at Detroit. That post is a considerable one, and is well populated, but three times as many families could easily be settled there as are now on the spot. Unfortunately we have not enough people in the Colony. I will make arrangements to promote the establishment of two sisters of the Congregation at that post to educate the Children without its costing the King one sol.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Vaudreuil .

[Extract from a letter from Detroit, dated Oct. 18, 1755. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.* , x, p. 401.]

By a letter from Detroit dated the 18th [October], all the Indians of that quarter appear inclined to attack the English. The Miamis and Poutouamis are equally so disposed. The latter have had parties out constantly, and have killed or captured, up to the date of this letter, 120 English.]

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1749–55: SERVICES OF THE YOUNGER MARIN

[Translated from document in Margry, *Découverts et Etablissements* , vi, pp. 653–655.]

Extract from the Memoir of Monsieur Marin fils, captain and chevalier of the military order of St. Louis .97

97 Additional details of the career of Joseph la Malgue, Sieur Marin., are found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 315; and *Canada Roy. Soc Proc.*, 2nd series, x, pp. 25–35.— Ed.

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I was detailed in 1749 by Monsieur de La Galissonnière in order to go and command at la Pointe de Chegouamigon, an Indian post 500 leagues from Montreal, in order to have peace made, and secure tranquility among the nations, who were at war among themselves, and who even made war upon the French. I rendered these regions open to commerce in two years time.

In 1751, I went to perform service at Québec.

In 1752, I was detailed by Monsieur le marquis de La Jonquière, governor general of Canada, to go and relieve my father, who was commandant at that time on the upper part of the Mississippi. I had an order from this general to make discoveries among the nations, who were as yet unknown. This I did during two years, covering on foot more than two thousand leagues sometimes in snow, sometimes amid ice, running a thousand dangers among barbarous nations and wearied by fatigues of every sort. I conquered, in these two years, more than twenty nations, that I made submissive to France, and these have since waged war for us. I had peace made between the Renards, Sakis, Puans, Sioux of the Lakes, Sioux of the Prairies, and Folles Avoines and the Illinois. This peace was of the greatest consequence, for if these nations had not been reconciled, the French of the colony established at the Cahau [Cahokia] at the forts of Chartres and the Cas [Kaskaskia] would have been obliged to abandon their settlements.

In 1754 I went to perform my service at Québec.

In 1755, I was detailed by Monsieur Duquesne, then governor general of Canada to return to the upper Mississippi in order to restrain the nations who occupy these regions.

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1756: AFFAIRS IN THE OHIO VALLEY

[Extracts from documents in *N. Y. Colon., Docs.*, x, pp. 406, 407, 424, 437, 479.]

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New Orleans , June 1, 1756.

My Lord —By the last letters of the 16th of March, which I have received from M. de Mackarty, Commandant at the Illinois,⁹⁸ he informs me that he has not received any order from M. de Vaudreuil, and appears ignorant of the different events passing in Canada. He adds, that Captain de Chation, commanding at St. Joseph, a dependency of Canada,⁹⁹ writes that he received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, recommending him to labor in keeping the Nations quiet in existing circumstances, and that he will soon send him packets for M. de Mackarty, which he will be hardly able to receive before this month. Therefore, My Lord, I cannot give you any news of what is passing in the North and on the Beautiful river. As regards the domiciliated Indian Nations, and others in the neighborhood of Illinois, they appear pretty quiet.

⁹⁸ Major Macarty (Makarty) Mactigue was born in 1706, the son of a captain in the French service. In 1713 he entered the army, and by 1731 was made captain in Louisiana. In 1735 he was promoted to be major of engineers, came to the Illinois as commandant in 1752, and remained until the capitulation of Montreal (1760). During his administration Fort Chartres was rebuilt in stone, Fort Duquesne was provisioned and supplied with detachments of troops, and Fort Massiac (or Massac) was built (1757). Summoned to New Orleans in June, 1760, Macarty was on duty in that city until his death (April 20, 1764).— Ed.

⁹⁹ Probably this captain was Roch St. Ours, Sieur Deschaillons, son of the officer noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 35. The younger Deschaillons was second ensign in 1733; ensign in full, 1741; lieutenant in 1744, and captain in 1748. In 1759 he received the cross of St. Louis, and seems to have retired to Paris, where his widow died in 1777. His son, however, remained in Canada, and became prominent in the English administration.— Ed.

M. de Mackarty in accordance with the letter of M. Dumas, Commandant at Fort Duquesne,¹ copy whereof I annex hereunto,

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1 Sieur Dumas had served in the French army, and coming to Canada some time before 1750, was in that year appointed captain of a new company in the colonial troops. His first services that are noted were in connection with Braddock's defeat, for which he received the cross of St. Louis. Upon the retirement of Contrecoeur, Dumas was made commandant of Fort Duquesne, and maintained there a vigorous offensive campaign until called in 1757 to become major of Quebec. In that capacity he aided Montcalm's Lake Champlain campaign of 1757. In 1759 he was made inspector-general of troops, and during the siege of Quebec commanded the right wing. In 1760 he took part in the defense of Montreal, but upon its capitulation retired to France. There his services were recognized by transfer to the infantry with the grade of colonel, and a considerable pension. In 1765 he was in Paris, two years later being made commandant of Isle de France. After two years' service he was recalled, but continued to enjoy favor and a pension. He was living in 1774.— Ed.

160 complied as far as he was able with the requisition for flour and salted provisions, but not to near the quantity that was desired. As soon as I shall be better informed, my Lord, of what will take place both at the Illinois and the Beautiful river, I shall not fail to send you an account thereof.

The only information I have from the different Indians of that quarter is, that those of the North are incessantly, and most successfully ravaging and laying waste all the settlements belonging to the Provinces of New York, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia and Potomac. Several have even quite recently been discovered with all their baggage within 5 days' journey of the Kaouitas,² going in quest of an asylum between St. Augustine and New Georgia. This is what I have learned pending my voyage to Mobile.

² Kaouitas was the French name for the great of Creek Indians, whose habitat was in the present eastern Alabama, western Georgia, and northwestern Florida.— Ed.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and Most obedient servant,

Kerlerec .3

3 Louis Billouart, Sieur de Kerlérec, was born in Quimper, France, in June, 1704. Entering the navy at the age of fourteen, he had before reaching the age of twenty been on several cruises to America. In 1730 he was sent to Louisiana to aid against the Natchez, and the following year received his ensigney. Continuing in the navy he was wounded in an action against the Spaniards (1740), and the next year was promoted to a lieutenancy. In 1746 he received the cross of St. Louis, and the following year participated in a naval battle wherein he was taken prisoner, being carried to England. In 1750 he was exchanged, and returning to France was rewarded for his services with the governorship of Louisiana (1752). Arrived in New Orleans in the spring of 1753, he took over the governorship at a troubled time, and for eleven years defended the province, almost without troops or resources. His disagreements with the ordinator of the colony led to disgrace upon his return to France. He was finally (1769) banished from Paris, and retired to Rouen where he died Sept. 8, 1770.— Ed.

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Copy of the letter written to M. de Makarty, Commandant at the Illinois, on the 10th of 9 ber 1755, by M. Dumas, Commandant of Fort Du Quesne .

Sir —The critical condition of Canada last summer; attacked on all sides by numerous armies, whose movements M. Du Quesne, at the time our general, was unwilling to foresee; with posts defenceless and without supplies; Lake Ontario closed by Chaouaguin during the entire of the fine season; all this, Sir, has placed this post in the most sad want of provisions.

The enemy having cut off our communication, as I have the honor to inform you, Sir, it is a long time since I have received any news from M. de Vaudreuil; I have reason to believe he is busy clearing the roads, but the greatest success cannot at present provide so many indispensable necessities; therefore I have to look elsewhere.

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In so delicate a conjuncture, I take upon myself, Sir, to send to you for provisions, and if they can reach us in season, they will afford us the opportunity of being provided with the other necessaries by facilitating the carriage of whatever comes to us from below.

Wherefore, I send you Sieur Ducharme, a skilful voyageur who formerly came up the Beautiful river as far as the Falls,⁴ 11

⁴ In all probability this was Jean Marie Ducharme, who was born at Lachine in 1723, and there married (1761) Marie Roy. Coming early to Mackinac, he traded thence throughout the Illinois country and Wisconsin. In 1773 he was arrested by the Spaniards on the Missouri River, and for some time kept a prisoner at St. Louis. At the outbreak of the American Revolution, he sympathized somewhat with the Americans and was suspected by the British of furnishing provisions to the rebels; see statement of his son, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 233, 234. In 1778 he was licensed as trader from Mackinac, and in 1780 led a party of Indians to the attack against St. Louis. He was accused in this instance of sympathy with the Americans, and with causing the expedition to miscarry. He appears to have kept his residence in Lachine, during these years of trade and hostility in the upper country, and there he died in June, 1807 (Draper MSS, 23J). He had a brother Dominique, and a cousin Laurent, both of whom were traders and voyageurs; the latter was in Mackinac during the outbreak of 1763, and afterwards had a post at Milwaukee.

Jean Marie's three sons, Joseph, Dominique, and Paul all became early residents of Wisconsin.— Ed.

162 and who expects to be able to ascend it again as far as this place, with carts loaded with 10 thousand weight under a guard of six men.

I have had the honor to advise M. de Vaudreuil of all this, and I flatter myself that you will give all your support to an undertaking on the success of which depends perhaps the fate of our settlement.

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I furnish M. Ducharme with 18 men; he proposes to engage some at the Illinois, but I foresee that it will be difficult for him to find people sufficient to convey 120 thousand weight of flour and 40 thousand weight of pork. It is on you, Sir, that I rest the confidence with which I enter on this project.

You, Sir, can easily furnish Sieur Ducharme with a detachment under the command of an officer. It will march as an escort, and the soldiers will be paid as laborers by the contractor for working in the convoy.

I have heard of one Delisle undertaking formerly to convey provisions to the Ouyatonons. I suppose, Sir, you have orders to protect him. I demand the same assistance for Sieur Ducharme, and that you will add thereto whatever will be in your power.

In laboring far the good of the service your reward and mine are assured, since we have performed our duty.

I have the honor to be, etc., Dumas .

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[1756. Fort Duquesne] We have now on the Continent [in this region] one thousand French, seven hundred Delawares and Chouanons, besides a number of Illinois, as many as three hundred French and Indians, under the care of Sieur de Villiers, about 250 Miamis and Outagnons, under M. de Belestre, 300 from Detroit and 700 from Michilimakinac, commanded by Chevalier de Repentigny, d'Anglade and Hebert, Junior, amounting in all to 3,250 men. [We are] expecting to hear whether M. Beaubassin, Commandant at the Point, will have brought the Sauteurs belonging to his post;⁵ we shall soon learn the exploits of these Nations.

⁵ "Hebert Junior" is probably a misprint for "Herbin Junior," for whom see *ante*, p. 137, note 81.

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Pierre Joseph Hertel, Sieur de Beaubassin, belonged to a prominent Canadian family who had estates in Acadia. Born in 1715, he became ensign (1748). Having been very successful during King George's War in raiding in the neighborhood of Albany, he was sent by the governor of New France to arrange with the governor of New York for an exchange of prisoners. The latter remonstrated with La Jonquière for sending one known to have "committed cruel barbarities in the last war." His negotiations were, however, successful and he received a gratuity for his "zeal and industry," besides promotion in the army. In 1751 he married Catherine Jarret de Vechères, who became an especial friend of the Marquis de Montcalm. In 1756 he was made lieutenant, being stationed at La Pointe de Chequamegon, Wisconsin. In 1759, he came to Quebec, apparently from the eastward, bringing with him a detachment of Abenaki Indians. His services were in demand during the siege, and he likewise took part in the campaign of 1760, at its close retiring to France. — Ed.

[Aug. 8, 1856.] M. Dumas has likewise caused peace to be concluded between the Illinois, the Nations of the Bay, the Saulteux and Pouteouamis.

* * * * *

Although the greatest portion of the Upper Nations have returned, through fear of the smallpox that prevailed at Niagara and subsequently at Presqu'Isle, which they have been equally apprehensive of catching at Fort Duquesne, M. Dumas' force consists nevertheless, of 810 men.

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[Aug. 30, 1756] The Indians of the Upper Countries appear glad that Chouaguen has fallen, but, at the bottom of their hearts, they are not satisfied.⁶ It was a place where they found as much Rum as they pleased, goods much cheaper than with us, and I am persuaded that the high prices of our merchandise will drive them to Orange to trade their peltries, which is a serious injury to the trade of this Colony. It would be an advantage

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necessary for one reason, were the Indians supplied with our goods at the same price as they are supplied by the English.

6 On the other hand, note the following testimony on the effect in the upper country of the fall of Oswego (Chouaguen). The journal of Montcalm in Casgrain, *Lévis Manuscripts* (Quebec, 1895), vii, p. 121, notes under date of Nov. 21, 1756; "Monsieur Dumuys [commandant of Detroit] ensign of the colony, arrived the 21, and confirms the great effect that the taking of Chouaguen has had on the disposition of the savages of the Upper Country. It has animated the courage of those belonging to us, and lowered that of those, who were like the Huron of Detroit in the depth of their hearts on the side of the English."—Ed.

1756: GRANT OF LA BAYE POST

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated 1756. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 101, folio 9."]

Monseigneur —I cannot but be imbued with the liveliest gratitude for your kindness in being pleased to explain to me, by the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 12th of April, the reasons that have prevented the King from approving the suggestion I had the honor to make you, to appoint my brother governor of Montreal.

* * * * *

As my brother cannot aspire to the position of governor of Montreal and must lose the right, which his seniority as governor would give him, in the meantime, to the rank of commander-in-chief, 165 I have not hesitated to tell him that he must not count upon it; and I think, subject to the King's good pleasure, that His Majesty will consider it opportune that I should ask that he be honorably retired on account of his services, of those of my brothers and of my father,⁷ with a pension that will enable him to live suitably.

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7 His father, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, was governor of Canada (1703–25). The eldest brother, Louis Philippe, known as Count de Vaudreuil, was a distinguished naval officer, attaining the rank of lieutenant-general in the navy and dying (1763) in France. Pierre Antoine, the second brother, known as Baron de Vaudreuil, was colonel in the army, being killed at the siege of Prague in 1742. Jean, called Vicomte de Vaudreuil, was also in the army and attained the rank of lieutenant-general. The youngest of the brothers, Joseph Hyacinthe de Vaudreuil, was captain of infantry, and commandant at San Domingo (1753–59).— Ed.

Such an arrangement, Monseigneur, seems to me indispensable owing to the impression which my brother's fate (after distinguishing himself in the expeditions most important to the Colony) would produce on the Canadians and savages, and to the unpleasantness that would be caused to my brothers and to myself in particular. I flatter myself that I possess the hearts and the confidence of the colonists, and their sensitiveness through my brother being overlooked might perhaps diminish the zeal and satisfaction wherewith they execute my orders. I might even add, without prejudice, that the retirement of my brother would be a loss to the colony. He is generally liked by the Canadian troops and the Savages. They have given him the most striking proofs of this, and it is certain that his services would have been very useful during this war.

As my brother's affairs are exceedingly embarrassed and the illness of his wife in France causes him heavy expense, I have the honor, Monseigneur, to ask you to be pleased to procure him a continuation of the exploitation of the post of La Baye and its dependencies for three years, because he lost through a Fire at that post last winter about 30,000 livres worth of goods which he owes his purveyors, and, moreover, the price of the goods has 166 more than doubled while that of furs has decreased in the same proportion. Consequently he cannot exploit that post except at a loss so long as the war lasts.

I venture to hope, Monseigneur, that you will be pleased to grant me these two favors for my brother. He has done very good service and has been wounded. He greatly contributed

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to the reduction of the forts of Chouaguin, and I may truthfully say that, without him, the officers of the colony, the Canadians and the savages, they would still be in the enemy's possession.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Vaudreuil .

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated Sept. 21, 1756. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 102.]

Montreal , September 21, 1756.

Monseigneur —I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 15th of July of last year. I highly appreciate, Monseigneur, the kindness you have been pleased to manifest by procuring my brother, de Rigaud, the continuation of the enjoyment of the post of La Baye for two years. I beg you, Monseigneur, to rest assured that my gratitude equals his. You will see, by the letter I had the honor to write you regarding him, the reasons that induce me to ask you for the continuation of that post for three more years. That which impelled me the most to ask that favor of you is the zeal which I know he has for the King's service and whereof he has just given proofs in the expedition against the Chouéguen forts in which he distinguished himself.⁸ I flatter myself, Monseigneur, that

⁸ Rigaud was second in command of the expedition that captured Oswego (Chouéguen), Aug. 14, 1756. He had charge of the Canadian troops and Indian auxiliaries, and went in advance of Montcalm, established himself at what is now Sackett' Harbor, and reconnoitred the surrounding country. Proceeding with the army to Oswego, he was sent to cross river with his forces—a movement successfully executed, which alarmed the garrison of Old Fort Oswego into immediate capitulation. Vaudreuil, somewhat jealous of

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the fame of Montcalm for this success, was inclined to magnify the share of his brother in the exploit.— Ed.

167 this reason, added to the kindness with which you honor us, will lead you to grant him this.

With regard to the other posts of the upper country, I have merely been able to conform to the arrangements made by Monsieur the Marquis Duquesne. Most of them are farmed out, and I can change nothing until the leases expire.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

Vaudreuil .

1757: MEMOIR OF BOUGAINVILLE

[Translated from Pierre Margry, *Relations et Memoires Inédits* (Paris, 1867), pp. 39–84.]⁹

⁹ Louis Antoine Bougainville (1729–1811) was the son of a Paris notary. Educated for the bar, he began his career as a lawyer of the Parliament of Paris. He was likewise a man of letters and science, and in 1752 published a treatise on integral calculus that won the attention of the scholarly world. About the same time he decided to undertake a military career, and after visiting London (1754) as military attaché of the legation, where he was made a member of the Royal Society, he served (1755) as aide-de-camp to the Duc de Mirepoix. The following year he was sent to Canada as Montcalm's first aide-de-camp, with the rank of captain. From the first, he won his chief's regard and warm commendation. He accompanied him on the Oswego campaign (1756), and that of Lake George (1757), whence he was dispatched to Montreal with the news of victory. In the following year he was slightly wounded at Ticonderoga; but nevertheless was chosen to go to France to solicit aid for New France, then in its extremities. The court granted him promotion to the rank of colonel, and the cross of St. Louis, but would send no substantial

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assistance to Montcalm. Bougainville returned to Quebec in April, 1759, bringing news of the approach of the English fleet. He was one of the most efficient defenders of Quebec, also was valiant in the 1760 campaign against Amherst, finally being the agent to arrange the terms of capitulation. Returning to France in 1761, the next year finds him winning laurels on the Rhine, under Choiseul Stainville. In 1763 he exchanged his military title for that of captain in the navy, and made a settlement on the Isles Malouines (Falkland), in South America. In 1766 he was sent to transfer these islands to Spain, and with two ships of war made a voyage of circumnavigation of the globe, that ended in 1769. During the American Revolution he aided the patriots, and for his action in the fleet of De Grasse, in Chesapeake Bay (1781), he received the thanks of Washington and Rochambeau. In 1790, after attaining the rank of vice-admiral, he retired from the navy. Arrested during the Reign of Terror, he lived to become member of the Institute (1796), senator, and count of the empire. The Americans also elected him to the order of Cincinnati, and to the Academy of Science. He died in September, 1811.

Bougainville's observations on Canadian conditions were acute, and marked by much practical judgment. This memoir, from which we publish those extracts relating to the upper posts, was written for Mme. Hérault de Séchelles, the patroness of his family, to whom it was sent June 30, 1757. Although Bougainville had no opportunity of himself visiting the upper country, he nevertheless obtained his information at first hand from Canadian officers who knew the region well.— Ed.

Detroit .—Detroit is a post worthy of attention, it is the entrepôt of the southern forts which communicate with the Illinois. The lands there are rich and easy to cultivate, the sky beautiful and serene, the climate magnificent, almost no 168 winter, very little snow, the beasts winter in the fields and feed there. There are already about two hundred habitants, who have abundant provisions and cattle, and who furnish flour to the different posts of the upper countries. The fort is on the border of the river that separates Lake Erie from Lake Huron where there is only a gentle slope that forms a slight current. At twenty leagues from Lake Huron and six from Lake Erie, the river of detroit is twelve to fifteen arpents

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wide, all the waters of the upper lakes, Michigan and of Lake Huron pass there, and go to discharge themselves into Lake Erie.

LOUIS-ANTOINE DE BOUGAINVILLE From portrait in possession of the Count R. Kerallain, Quimper, France. Reproduced by us from photogravure in Doughty and Parmalee, *Siege of Quebec* , i, p. 178

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It is then a question of encouraging this establishment, which is an important place because of all the nations around, and of the routes of communication with the Illinois. In order to accomplish this, the government should be arranged with a staff officer, five or six companies complete with officers and soldiers, and give to each captain, and even to the subalterns a seigniory of ninety arpents depth by a league in front, and oblige each soldier to take land on the seigniory of his captain or officer, who will give each a domain or fief, and then in order to establish and cultivate the lands more quickly, they should be divided into companies of a dozen soldiers with a sergeant to guide them, and make them work together a week on each plot of an arpent and a half by thirty in depth, so that they are near together. By this means the lazy will be obliged to employ themselves as the others, since they work in common, and this was formerly the method of the famous Republic of Sparta. The officers would be interested to follow closely their soldiers that they might not lose time, and even would have built for them small houses, and when each soldier married would give him a cow and a sheep, a pair of oxen with a plow and other necessary utensils for work, and cooking utensils. The oxen would be only lent to them, they would return them to the king when they had reared others, and the former were only fit for the butcher. For this purpose the companies must be permanent; for if they changed, the soldiers would not be attached to anything. Those who marry must be replaced, so that the companies may be full, and then, as much as possible in choosing among the other companies, with those willing to serve.

It should be remarked that the habitants of detroit can rear as many animals as they wish, because of the abundance of the pasturage, and the beauty of the climate. Thus in giving attention to the establishment of Detroit there would arise great advantages. This government would soon be in a condition to furnish the posts of Niagara, Frontenac, la Presentation, and others in the region of the Belle River with flour 170 and meat, which would relieve the capital greatly, as well in the matter of provisions as of men who are occupied in transporting stores from Montreal to Fort Frontenac—a passage of seventy leagues with fearful rapids to mount,¹⁰ which wears out the best men diverting them from agriculture to the transportation of stores for the different posts of the south. Detroit being established, nothing would be easier than to bring all the succor necessary in provision and beasts to furnish the posts mentioned, and this by means of flat-bottom transports, or barks which would carry from sixty to seventy tons, and which crossing Lake Erie would bring the government produce to Point à Binot.¹¹ There a small fort could be built for an entrepôt both for stores coming from Montreal for the southern posts, as well as for those coming from Detroit for the posts that the government provisions, and for the goods of commerce; this would greatly diminish the number of engagés used as voyageurs. And the transports going and coming to Point à Binot would be laden with different goods. One might go and return by bateau from the little fort at Niagara¹² to Point à Binot, a distance of nine leagues. And the transports not

¹⁰ Bougainville had had personal experience of this route from Montreal to Fort Frontenac, having accompanied Montcalm on the way to capture Oswego. For a good description with a detail of the rapids, etc., see François Pouchot, *War in America*, 1755–60 (Roxbury, Mass., 1866), ii, pp. 91–113.— Ed.

¹¹ Now known as Point Abino, on the north shore of Lake Erie, in Welland County, Ontario. The name is spelled on old maps in various ways; see Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, vii, p. 367, for an early survey and the varying orthography.— Ed.

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12 Joncaire had long had a house and trading settlement at the upper end of the Niagara portage. In 1750 this was erected into a fort variously called Little Fort Niagara, Fort at the Portage, etc. Joncaire maintained his command at this place until July, 1759, when upon the approach of the English army led by Sir William Johnson, under orders from Pouchot commanding Fort Niagara, he burned the buildings and retreated across the river to Chippewa Creek. The English later built a fort at this site, known as Fort Schlosser from its first commandant. It was maintained until the nineteenth century.— Ed.

171 being able to go to the former would go to fort presqu'île, which is the entrepôt for the stores sent to the different posts on Belle River.

The voyageurs would only have to carry their merchandise up to fort Frontenac, where they would embark on vessels which traverse Lake Ontario, going and coming to Niagara—a passage of seventy leagues, and at the latter place the portage of this merchandise and other goods, might be made by horses; and a regulation might be made of how much the voyageurs should pay for goods and merchandise from fort Frontenac, which would be much lower than the expense of bark canoes and engages as I will demonstrate.

A large canoe costs 500 fr.

Six engagés at 250 fr. 1500 f.

One hundred livres of biscuit per man at 20 fr. 120 f.

Twenty-five livres of lard per man at 60 c. 90 f.

For tools for the canoe 20 f.

Total 2260 ft.

It should be noted that a bark canoe carries about four thousand weight. Thus, all the goods that the voyageurs carry up to the Upper Country for trade cost more than ten sols

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per livre for transportation. It is true that a part of their return comes down with the same men and canoe. Thus the king could charge twenty francs per hundred weight to carry merchandise from fort Frontenac to detroit, and twelve francs a package from detroit to fort Frontenac. The voyageurs who would follow their packages, could go down to Montreal on their own account; the king would lend them only canoes or bateaux.

These same transports could likewise by crossing Lake Huron communicate with Michilimakina, which is the entrepôt of the northern posts; and even go through Lake Michigan as far as La Baye a hundred leagues from Michilimakina, and even as far as Saint-Joseph.

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Michilmakina .—Michilmakina is distant from Montreal travelling by the grand river three hundred leagues; from Detroit a hundred leagues and more. This post is situated between lake Michigan and lake Huron; when the navigators had acquired experience on these lakes, knowing the different shelters and anchorages and retreats in case of bad weather, one could use these vessels for transporting all the goods for the posts of the north. Detroit, having become a considerable place, would be in position to furnish merchandise to all these several places. By this means voyageurs would be freed from taking up bark canoes by the grand river, which is very troublesome on account of the great number of rapids and portages which the engagés make. Eighty bark canoes ordinarily go up each year, or about six to seven hundred men for that part of the country of which I speak; and by these means it would not be necessary. This would conserve the men in Canada, and augment the number of laborers which are the basis of the state.

Following this, individuals at Detroit will make boats proper for these transports, and commerce will be much facilitated in the Upper Country, for the barks of Lake Erie will go on Lakes Huron and Michigan, and a boat of forty tons will carry twenty canoe weights, and for this vessel it will take five or six men, in place of the hundred and twenty to a hundred and forty needed for the twenty canoes.

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The governor general has paid ordinarily to the voyageurs five hundred francs for each canoe-crew, as much for the gratification to the officers as for the poor families; therefore, there must be paid five hundred francs for four thousand weight that the voyageurs convey to the Upper Country, and the one returns to the other.

In following exactly that which is stipulated in a few words, one will remedy one part of the abuses which are contrary to the advantage of Canada, and in a little while will see the lands cultivated, the habitants increasing in numbers, commerce flourishing, and the people becoming happier; it is that 173 which I wish, not being able to do more, and Jeering spoken the truth.

Detroit the entrepôt for the southern posts .—Detroit the entrepôt for the southern posts, is a large town situated between Lake Erie and Lake Ste. Claire, from the entrance of Lake Erie to Detroit it is six leagues, from Detroit to Lake Ste. Claire, two; from the outlet of that lake which is seven leagues long to Lake Huron, they reckon eleven leagues.

The situation of that post is very beautiful, the climate charming, the air healthy, the land excellent and adapted to all kinds of productions; hunting is abundant. A man in fifteen days can secure three hundred head of game of different kinds, excellent to eat. The season for game lasts from February to May, and from September to Christmas.

On the north there are three leagues of land inhabited by the French, with three arpents to the habitant; to the south there are two leagues and a half thus occupied. The river as one leaves Lake Erie to go to Detroit runs northeast; it is a league and a half wide in front of the town, and has an island that serves as a common, fifty arpents long and twenty wide. It is called *Isle au Cochon* (Hog Island). A quarter of a league above the entrance of Lake Ste. Claire is an island named *Isle du Large* (Wide Island), twenty arpents long by seven or eight wide.

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The habitants raise in ordinary years two thousand five hundred minots of wheat, much hay, and Indian corn, they sometimes sow grain in the autumn, but often it produces only rye. A habitant of the place assured me that he had sown a dozen minots of very fine wheat and had harvested only very fine rye. They sow in February and March and harvest in July, the wheat production is ordinarily twentyfold.

At a day's journey from there at a large point on Lake Huron there is a stone, which is wanting at Detroit, suitable for making mill-stones. It will be necessary to encourage agriculture among the Detroit habitants by assuring them of an outlet for their products, an easy matter, by having them 174 utilized by the garrisons of the forts of Presqu'isle Marchant [Machault], de la Rivière au Bœuf, and Duquesne. These provisions will cost the king less than those sent from Montréal, the cost of transportation of which is immense, and the difficulty of the passage renders uncertain the subsistence of the garrisons.

It will be necessary also that the merchants of Detroit or others who might wish to establish themselves there in that capacity should have the liberty to carry back to Detroit without paying a license, the returns of packages, letters of exchange, or certificates that they carry to Montréal; for if this privilege is not accorded the establishment of Detroit will languish.

At this post there is a commandant, a major, and under their orders * * * subaltern officers, the garrison of * * * men is furnished by detached companies of marine. The post is exploited by licenses whose price is usually five hundred francs payable in cash and whose number is not fixed. The charges supported by the licenses are for the commandant, three thousand francs; for the second in command, a thousand francs; for the subalterns, five hundred francs; for the subdelegate, six hundred francs; for the interpreter, five hundred francs; for the chaplain, five hundred francs; for the surgeon, three hundred francs; each canoe is obliged to carry four hundred livres weight of

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merchandise for the officers and other employees of the said post, in consequence the officers engage in trade, which is thus not free, and there are abuses to correct.

The savages who come ordinarily to trade at Detroit are Hurons of the same family as those of Lorette, a perfidious, knavish tribe against whom one must be incessantly on guard. The Outawas, the Saulteux, and the Pouteouatamies, these latter are of all the savages the most attached to our interests, never having dipped their hands in the blood of any Frenchmen, they have even given us notice of plots formed against us 175 by the other nations. There issues from this post between eight hundred and a thousand packages of peltry.

Post of the Miamis .—The post of the Miamis (Bellestre lieutenant) situated on the right bank of the river of that name with a fort of upright pickets, is the fort which stands at the beginning of the portage to the waters that flow to the southwest. This post is leased to the commandant for three years and the price of the lease is twelve hundred francs per year. He has the exclusive trade, the king gives neither certificates nor presents to the savages; the farmer is charged with these expenses as well as the wages of the interpreter; there is no gratification. The pay of the garrison is in powder and lead which the farmer takes to [from] Detroit; the savages who most commonly come to trade there are the Miamis and the Tepicomeaux.¹³ They can furnish a hundred and fifty warriors. In an ordinary year there issues from this post two hundred and fifty to three hundred packages; this is, then, a post removed from [free] commerce.

¹³ Note by Margry—"Je ne connais pas ce nom" (I do not know this name). It is, however, the name of one clan of the Miami, usually written Tepicon; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 246; also Jacob P. Dunn, *Indiana* (Boston, 1888), p. 67, who derives the word Tippecanoe from this clan. Notice also the divisions of the Miami in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 152—Pepikokis (Tepikoki.)— Ed.

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Ouyatanons .—The *Ouyatanons* (Camet Bayeul, ensign)¹⁴ is a post situated on the right bank of the river Ouabache or

¹⁴ Two officers of the Canadian army bore this title, both of them sons of Louis Audet, *Sieur de Bailleul*, who died in 1739 while lieutenant in the service. The one here mentioned was the younger, Pierre Audet, *Sieur de Bailleul Canut*, born in 1724 and married Jan. 17, 1757, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of Louis Denis de la Ronde, formerly commandant at Chequamegon. Bailleul the younger, while still a cadet was in command of parties of mission Indians who raided from Montreal in 1747. The following year he was at Crown Point on a similar errand. In 1750 he obtained his commission as second ensign, not becoming full ensign until seven years later. Meanwhile, either he or his brother was with Villiers at the capitulation of Fort Necessity (1754). In 1756 one of them accompanied Montcalm to Oswego, while the other was in command of a detachment of militia near Montreal. Bailleul the younger appears to have returned from his post at the *Ouiatanon* in 1759, and was employed in the transportation service, for which in 1767 he petitioned the government to reimburse him. Retiring to France after the English conquest, he was pensioned by the French government in 1774, his brother having seven years earlier been likewise pensioned for his wounds and services.— Ed.

¹⁷⁶ Saint-Jérôme, a fort of upright pickets. This post is on the same footing as that of the *Miamis*, the commandant is its farmer, and the price of the lease is twelve hundred francs per year.

The savages who come to trade there are the *Ouyatanons* , the *Kikapous* , the *Maskoutins* , the *Peanguichias* ,¹⁵ they can furnish three hundred and sixty warriors.

¹⁵ For these tribes see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, *passim*.— Ed.

There comes from this post and those dependent upon it, in ordinary years, four hundred to four hundred and fifty packages.

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Vincennes .—The post of Vincennes is a pretty village dependent upon New-Orleans which sends there the commandant.¹⁶ It has three horse mills, and about seventy-five habitants who till the soil and harvest grain.

¹⁶ For the founding of this post see *Ibid.*, p. 29. The commandant at this time was Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, for whom see *ante*, p. 109, note 58.— Ed.

The Peanguichias trade there. They must produce about eighty packages.

Post of the Illinois .—The Illinois, a post of which the principal entrepôt is Fort Chartres, is situated on the Mississippi; there are for all these posts six companies of garrison furnished as well as the commandant, by New-Orleans. This post is exploited by licenses whose price is six hundred francs per canoe, the voyageurs having three hundred francs weight in their canoes for the ordinary gratifications. And as they are not bound to convey provisions for the missionaries of the 177 *Tamarous* ,¹⁷ the surplus of what they bring is for Michilimakinac if they go by the north, or for Détroit if they pass by the south. The gratification for the commandant is paid by Louisiana from the state-treasury; the commandant is sent from New-Orleans.

¹⁷ This is a branch of the Illinois tribe that settled near and merged. with the Cahokia branch of that tribe. The earliest mission at Cahokia was founded by the Jesuits between 1698 and 1700. It was (about 1702) taken over by the priests of the Seminaire des Missions; Etrangères, but again reverted to the Jesuits, who maintained their seat at this village until expelled from Louisiana (1763–64). See note on Pierre Gibault, *post*.— Ed.

These are the divisions of the Illinois: the Cubes on the borders of the Mississippi, at the left the Metchi, at six leagues the Kas, a little village inhabited by the French. The Cahos and the Metchi are no more than a village of about four hundred warriors. There are about four hundred warriors at the Kas. These three nations are comprised under the name

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of Illinois, and furnish in ordinary years a hundred packages in beaver, deer, cats, lynx, foxes, otters, stags and bucks.

There is another post on the river of the Illinois, where a commandant resides in a fort named *Pimiteoui*; the nations who trade there are the *Peorias*; ¹⁸ seven hundred men furnish two hundred and fifty packages, of the same quality of peltries, with less beaver and more eats than the preceding post.

¹⁸ The time when this fort was established does not yet appear; certainly it must have been in the later years of the French regime. Its last commandant was Sieur Toulon, who by the orders of Neyon de Villiers evacuated it in 1763, and returned with his garrison to Fort Chartres. The fort was located on the west bank of Peoria Lake about a mile and a half above its outlet, on high ground with a beautiful view of the river and lake valley. Probably it was on what is now known as Prospect Heights, above the city of Peoria. The name *Pimiteoui* was the aboriginal name of the Peoria village located near the fort. There was also a considerable French settlement clustered about it.— Ed.

Missouri —In the Missouri at eighty leagues from its discharge into the Mississippi, are the *Osages* and the *Missouri*, ¹² ¹⁷⁸ neighboring nations, the trade that we have with them may, in an ordinary year amount to eighty packages of deer and bear skins few other peltries.¹⁹

¹⁹ A French post was established among the Missouri in 1722, but destroyed in 1725 by Indians, none of the garrison escaping. Its site, known as Fort Orleans, is somewhat in doubt. It was probably on the Missouri near the old mouth of Grand River, in Carroll County, just above Wakenda Creek. In 1804 Lewis and Clark could see no remains thereof.— Ed.

Kansés .—In ascending this river [the Missouri] eighty leagues farther a village of the *Kansés* is found; we have there a garrison with a commandant furnished,²⁰ like those of *Pimiteoui* and fort Chartres, by New-Orleans. There comes from this post a hundred

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packages largely of beaver, but badly dressed, the other peltries are the same as those of the preceding post. Fifty leagues above are found the Otoks and the *Ayoues* ;²¹ two hundred men furnish eighty packages, of the same peltries as those of the Kanes.

20 This fort was located at the Kansa village on the present site of Fort Leavenworth. Its remains were plainly seen by the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804, and that of Major Long in 1819. Cantonment Leavenworth was there established in 1827.— Ed.

21 Two tribes of Siouan stock, known better as the Oto and Iowa. The former were an offshoot of the Missouri, and removed higher up the river of that name, residing for a time in the neighborhood of Omaha. Later they had a village on Platte River. where the remnant of the Missouri united with them. They resided on their reservation in southeastern Nebraska until after the middle of the nineteenth century, and were then removed to Indian Territory, where their reservation was abolished in 1904, lands being then allotted in severalty. The Iowa (*Ayoués*) were met by the French in the state to which they have given name. In 1808 the first American treaty was made with this tribe. They ceded their Iowa lands in 1836, and removed to Kansas, where a remnant of the tribe still dwell on allotted lands in Doniphan County.— Ed.

Fort Duquesne —The fort Duquesne is situated on the Belle River at the confluence of Malangueulé. This fort is a small one, built of wood, and badly placed, and dominated by two heights at a musket's range; in a word, it is untenable if it should be attacked in its present state.²² It may contain a garrison of more than five hundred men, whom it is very difficult to provide for; the Illinois has been this year their resource.

22 The hasty evacuation of Fort Duquesne, the following year, on the approach of Gen. John Forbes with an English army, is proof of the justness of Bougainville's observation.— Ed.

The commandant has three thousand francs for a gratification. This establishment is necessary to hinder the English from occupying that territory, but there must be a more

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respectable fort and one that can in time of war contain a garrison of five or six hundred men; the country is good, the land fertile, and the air healthy, settlers would do well.

This post is exploited by licenses which are given gratuitously in order to encourage the merchants to send there; too much care can not be taken that the merchandise be low in price, in order that the savages finding it so, and making there a good trade may not go to the English, an object important for commerce, and still more so for politics.

The savages who come to Fort Duquesne are the Loups, the Chaouanons, and the Iroquois, renegades from all the tribes of the Five Nations.

There comes from this post, in an ordinary year, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty packages.

Fort of the River au Bœuf .23 —The fort of the River an Boeuf is a square of upright pickets, situated thirty leagues from fort Machault, on a river whose name it bears. The river is quite navigable in spring-time, autumn, and often even in

23 For the building of this fort, see *ante*, p. 148, note 93. When the French abandoned this stockade after the fall of Niagara (1759), a detachment of Royal Americans. sent out from Fort Pitt, took possession; and at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy Ensign Price escaped after a brave but futile defense. The Indians burned the post, which was not reoccupied until the Americans garrisoned the site in 1794. during the Northwestern Indian war. A garrison was maintained here until after the War of 1812–15, when the present city of Waterford arose on the site.— Ed.

180 winter; in summer the water is very low, and provisions must be hauled to most of the posts.

This post is a necessary entrepôt for fort Duquesne, but it should be rebuilt and protected against a sudden attack. The commandant there has a thousand francs; the garrison is somewhat strong; it is not a commercial post, being but a new establishment.

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Fort Machault .—Fort Machault²⁴ is situated at the discharge of the river au Boeuf into the Ohio. it is the last outpost for Fort Duquesne, it should be protected against a sudden attack. This is not a trading post. The commandant has a thousand francs gratification.

²⁴ For the building of this fort also, see *ante*, p. 148, note 93. In 1758, before the fall of Fort Duquesne, the garrison consisted of but a single officer and six men; see journal of Christian Frederick Post in *Early Western Travels*, i, p. 191. Upon the evacuation of Fort Duquesne, its garrison was removed to Fort Machault and preparations made during the winter of 1758–59 for a descent upon the English Fort Pitt. This was prevented by the advance of Prideaux and Johnson against Niagara, and the orders of Pouchot from the latter post to Des Ligneris to come to his aid. The English on taking possession built a new stockade forty rods nearer the mouth or French Creek, which they called Fort Venango. This was captured by the Indians in 1763; the commandant, Lieutenant Gordon was murdered, and the post burned. Fort Franklin was garrisoned on this site (1788–96), and the present town of Franklin laid out in 1795 around the post.— Ed.

Fort of La Presqu'Isle .²⁵ La Presqu'Isle, a square fort built of squared timber, is situated on Lake Erie, seven leagues

²⁵ For establishment of this post, likewise, see *ante*, p. 148, note 93. In 1759 a large force gathered here from Illinois and Detroit to re-capture Fort Pitt; but the war party turned aside to the relief of Niagara and was there defeated, and Presqu'isle was abandoned by the French. The next year, Col. Henry Bouquet from Fort Pitt took possession, and a garrison was maintained until, while under Lieutenant Christie's command, it was captured in 1763 by hostile Indians. No fort was rebuilt on this site until 1793, when Gen. Anthony Wayne reared a blockhouse thereon, where three years later he died. A garrison remained here until the War of 1812–15, when Erie (as it was then known) became an important naval station that was maintained until 1825.— Ed.

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181 from the fort of river au Boeuf and from Niagara. It lies almost at the entrance of a large bay, about a league and a half deep by half a league wide. It has a commandant who has a thousand francs gratification, and there is a garrison of fifty or sixty men.

This post as far as trade is concerned is like the two preceding ones; Its utility is as a necessary outpost, and the first from Niagara to La Belle River. The portage from this fort to that of the river au Boeuf is seven leagues. During the winters which are mild, rainy, and not liable to have snow, the transportation is almost impracticable; spring and autumn are much the same; summer is the only season on which one can count for sending provisions and other necessities to La Belle River. I speak of wagon transportation; pack-horses go at all times. There are many savages in this vicinity, and their aid is almost always necessary from the haste with which we are forced to make the portage, in order to profit by the waters of the river au Boeuf indeed, if the roads were repaired it would be easy to dispense with the savages.

But policy demands that they be employed, especially in time of war. When they are employed in portaging they hinder the tribes that might be badly intentioned from troubling our transportation, moreover that which they earn in this manner, and the presents that are made them, place them in condition to dress themselves and provide necessities; without this resource they would turn to the English who deal with them much better than we do, and it is essential that they should not perceive this difference.

It would be easy to attract about this fort the savages, in order to establish them there and form villages;²⁶ the land there is good, hunting and fishing are abundant.

²⁶ A considerable settlement both of French and Indians had sprung up about Fort Presqu'isle. One English captive reports about a hundred and fifty families at this place in the last years of the French regime. With the surrender of Niagara, however, these all retired by water to Detroit and the other settlements of the upper country.— Ed.

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The Mississagués who are wandering about Lake Erie, could be settled there all the more easily that they would be assured of finding within the fort the resources that they lack when they are so far away from it.

The Iroquois who have a village at *Kanouagon* ,²⁷ thirty leagues distant from La Presqu'Isle would also draw thither; often they are obliged to have recourse to us for provisions. But in order to succeed in forming an establishment at this place, there would be necessary:

27 For this village see *ante*. p. 39, note 66.— Ed.

1st. A warehouse at' La Presqu'Isle well supplied with provisions and merchandise to trade according to the custom of the savages;

2nd. To abandon the portage. We pay six francs per sack to the savages for the portage, three francs to the French; but this disparity would disappear soon by the tariff of merchandise and provisions, and by the advantage of a commerce which would soon become considerable.

The chief of the Mississagués is named *Maccouainité* and that of the Iroquois *Cocité* ; both are very fond of the French and have given proofs thereof.

Niagara .—Niagara may be regarded as a strong place at present; it is situated at the head of Lake Ontario to the south, at the confluence of the [Niagara river. This post is the key of the upper country.

As the land there is excellent, the climate temperate, hunting and fishing abundant, we should try to establish a town there, or at least some habitations in a village. This establishment, and that of Détroit directed by good laws, would become the granary of the Upper Country. By this means the expense and the difficulties of transportation would be saved, and Canada would be in a condition to export more fully.

The king conducts the commerce at this post and consequently pays the gratifications of the commandants and other employees; but the commerce is ill-regulated there, trade is made in a fashion burdensome and but little profitable for the king.

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It would be well to make trade free, the competition between the merchants resorting there would render merchandise less dear. If the tariff is not lowered sooner or later the savages who no longer have Chouéguen, will go to Orange and carry their peltry; and one must never lose sight of this reflection that in this interest commerce is still less essential for the preservation of the colony depends upon it, for we sustain ourselves only by the favor of the savages; this is the counterpoise which makes the balance hang upon our side, and the savages will accept the hatchet from those with whom they carry on commerce most advantageously.

The nations that come to trade at Niagara are the Five Nations and the Mississagués.

There issue from this post in an ordinary year, two hundred and fifty to three hundred packages.

The portage from [Niagara to [Petit Fort] is * * * leagues; the same reflections for this portage as for that of La Presqu'Isle, it is essential to employ the savages in this.

* * * * *

Michilimakinac is a fort of standing pickets, situated on the strait of communication between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron; it is the entrepôt of the posts of the north; it is on the same footing as Detroit, entrepot for the southern posts. It is exploited by licenses, which are six hundred francs per canoe; each canoe is obliged to carry five hundred weight for the officers, or the necessities of the garrison. This post has been reduced to a thousand francs yearly for presents to the savages, and no certificates. The commandant

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there has three thousand francs: the second in command, one thousand francs; and the interpreter, six hundred francs.

The savages who come to trade at this post are the Saulteux and the Outawais; there may come from there in an ordinary year, six to seven hundred packages.

Baye des Puants (Monsieur de Rigaud) is an established post. It is farmed for nine thousand francs; all expense on the part of the king has been suppressed; there are neither presents, 184 nor certificates, nor interpreters' wages; all the cost is at the expense of the lessee.

The commandant (Coutrol, lieutenant) is an officer interested in the lease and who runs it for his own profit and that of his associates.²⁸ He has two thousand francs of gratification. This post includes also the Sioux.²⁹

²⁸ Hubert. Couterot, born in Paris, came to Canada sometime before 1750, when he was made ensign in the Canadian troops. In 1755 he was promoted to a lieutenancy after having married (1752) at Three Rivers, Marie Charlotte Taschereau. He apparently took command at La Baye in 1756, for on July 19 of that year he was in Mackinac, being registered as a godfather. Montcalm notes his arrival in the colony from La Baye Oct. 11, 1758. In 1759 Rigaud mentions a detachment under his charge proceeding from Three Rivers to Montreal, either on the way to the upper country or to reinforce Levis at Crown Point. Couterot appears to have been the last French commandant at Green Bay. He remained in Canada after the conquest, settling probably at Bariscan.— Ed.

²⁹ The post among the Sioux appears to have been abandoned when the younger Marin. in 1756, retired thence.— Ed.

The savages who come there for trade are the Folles-Avoines, *Sakis*, *Outagamis* or *Renards*, *Puants*, *Maskoutens*, *Kikapous*, *Sioux-des-Prairies*, *Sioux-des-Lacs*. There come from there, in an ordinary year, five to six hundred packages.

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Saint Joseph River (Monsieur le Verrier)³⁰ is a fort situated on the right of the river of that name, at twenty leagues from its entrance into Lake Michigan. This post is on the same footing as that of La Baye. The commandant is its farmer entirely or in part, at the pleasure of the governor general; it is supported at the expense of the former, he has two thousand

³⁰ Louis le Verrier was the son of the procurator-general of the colony, and stepson of Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of New France. Born in 1705, Le Verrier entered the army while still young, being successively second ensign (1722), lieutenant (1739), and captain (1754). In 1756 he accompanied Levis to Lake Champlain, and appears to have taken command of Fort St. Josephs (1757), where he remained until the spring of 1759 when he was promoted to the majority of Quebec. He returned to France with Vaudreuil, and does not appear to have again been in Canada—. Ed.

185 francs gratification and the interpreter five hundred francs. The price of the lease is * *

The savages who come there to trade are the Poutewatamis, about four hundred men, and a few Mymis. There may come from there four hundred packages of the skins of eats, bears, lynx, otter, deer, stags.

The Sea of the West is a post that includes the forts, Saint. Pierre, Saint-Charles, Bourbon, de la Reine, Dauphin, Poskoia, and des Prairies, all forts of upright pickets, respectable only against savages.³¹

³¹ Bougainville doubtless obtained his information concerning the Post of the Western Sea from Niverville and La Corne, Sieur do St. Lue. Both of these had been commandants, successors of the explorer La Verendrye, and both of them were with Bougainville in the Lake Champlain campaign of 1757. La Come de St. Luc was, as far as known, the last French commandant of this post, which he left in 1755.— Ed.

Fort Saint-Pierre is situated on the left bank of Lake *Tekamamiouen* or Rainy lake, at five hundred leagues from *Michilimakinak* and three hundred from *Kamanistigoyia* or Three-Rivers, at the northwest of Lake Superior.

Fort Saint-Charles is sixty leagues from that of SaintPierre, situated on a peninsula, that jutS far into the Lake of the Woods.³²

³² Fort St. Pierre, named in honor of the famous explorer, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, was built in 1731 Just above the discharge of Rainy River into the lake of that name, two miles east of the present Fort Frances. Some remains are yet visible.

The site of Fort St. Charles, built in 1732, named probably for Gov. Charles de Beauharnois, has recently (1902) been identified. It was on the north bank of the Inlet of the Northwest Angle, just west of Famine (or Buckett) Island, in the Lake of the Woods. The remains of the party massacred on an Island in the lake in 1736, that were transferred to Fort St. Charles, were here discovered.— Ed.

Fort Bourbon is one hundred and fifty leagues from the former, situated at the entrance of Lake Quimpeg.³³

³³ Bougainville omits mention of Fort Maurepas, and has located Fort Bourbon upon the site of the former. For Fort Maurepas (Bas de la Riviere), built in 1734, see ante, p. 133, note 70. Fort Bourbon was built by the son of the explorer La Verendrye in 1748, and at first was located at the mouth of Red Deer (La Biche) River, at the entrance of Lake Winnipegosis. Later (between 1748–55), there was built a second Fort Bourbon, whose ruins are yet visible on Cedar (or Bourbon) Lake, an enlargement of Saskatchewan River just above its entrance into Lake Winnipeg. For the location of these forts see L. A. Prud'homme, "Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye," and "Los Successours de la Vérendrye," in *Canada Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd series, xi, xii.— Ed.

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Fort La Reine is on the right bank of the river of the *Assiniboels* seventy leagues from [Fort Bourbon. These regions are everywhere vast prairies; this is the route to take for the upper Missouri.

Fort Dauphin eighty leagues from the former, is situated on the river *Minanghenachequeké* or Troubled Water.³⁴

34 For Fort La Reine see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 427. Fort Dauphin was built in 1741 on the northeastern angle of Lake Dauphin.— Ed.

Fort Poskoia is on the river of that name at one hundred and eighty leagues from the preceding fort;³⁵ from this fort one may go in ten days to *Nelson* river. The fort des Prairies is eighty leagues from fort Poskoia at the source of the river of that name.³⁶

35 This post was built in 1748 by the Chevalier de la Verendrye at the forks of the Saskatchewan. Later, it was abandoned, and Fort La Corne built (about 1754) a few miles farther east. The remains of both forts were to be Seen in 1814; see “Franchere's Narrative” in *Early Western Travels*, vi, p. 375. After the erection of Fort La Corne, a third fort was built on the present site of Fort Cumberland, to which, apparently, was transferred the name Fort Poskota. It would appear that Bougainville has reference to this latter fort. since it is from here that the route to Nelson River and Hudson Bay branched from the Saskatchewan. If Bougainville secured his information from La Come de St. Luc, he would know of the latest arrangements at the Post of the Western Sea.— Ed.

36 Apparently this refers to the post usually spoken of as Fort Pasquia, begun by St. Luc on Carrot River, an affluent of the Saskatchewan. Sir Alexander Mackenzie found traces of this establishment when he passed through that country in 1785. If this identification be correct, Bougainville omits mention of the post in the Rocky Mountains on the site of the modern Calgary, built (1751) by a party sent out by Niverville. This latter fort, called La Jonquiere, was destroyed before Bougainville wrote. Traces of it were, however, to be

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seen in 1875, when a captain of the Canadian mounted police built a blockhouse on this site.— Ed.

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This post [Sea of the West] has been leased for eight thousand francs; the commandant is its farmer and he has a quarter interest in this post. The savages who come there to trade are the Cristinaux and the Assiniboels;³⁷ these two nations form each a dozen villages of two hundred and fifty men, each one supporting the other. In an ordinary year there are made up at this post three to four hundred packages of beaver, fisherfox, marten, otter, lynx, wolverine, beech-marten, and foxes. One must count more than fifty to sixty Indian slaves or pants of *Jatihilinine*, a nation situated on the Missouri,³⁸ who play in America the role of the negroes in Europe. It is only at this post that the traffic in these slaves occurs.

37 For these tribes see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 189.— Ed.

38 It would appear that these were the Blackfeet Indians, a large tribe of Algonquian origin that roved between the upper Missouri and the Saskatchewan. According to St. Pierre's account (see *Canadian Archives*, 1886, p. clxiii), they were the tribe surrounding Fort La Jonquiere, and in perpetual warfare with the Assiniboin. Alexander Henry the elder speaks of seeing Blackfeet slaves among the Assiniboin, but says that the men were never enslaved, only the women and children. He speaks, likewise, of the indignity with which these slaves were treated, contrary to the usual custom among Indians; *Henry's Travels*, p. 312. Alexander Henry, the younger, constantly speaks of the Blackfeet as "Slaves", to the confusion of his editor—Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), p. 523. The Blackfeet were among the fiercest of the Northwestern tribes. It was they who attacked Meriwether Lewis's party on Maria River in 1806, and not until nearly thirty years thereafter did the Americans succeed in establishing trading stations among them. Consult on this tribe *Early Western Travels*, especially "Maximilian's Voyage," vols. xxii–xxv.— Ed.

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The *post of the Sea of the West* merits special attention for two reasons: the first is that it is the nearest of all to the 188 establishments of the English on Hudson bay, and that it is from here that their movements can be watched; the second is that it is from this post that the Western sea may be discovered; but in order to make this discovery it is necessary that the voyageurs abandon their individual interests.

Voyage of La Véranderie . The one who most advanced this discovery was the Sieur de la Veranderie;³⁹ he went from fort la Reine to reach the Missouri, and encountered first on that river the *Mandannes* or *Blancs Barbus* to the number of seven villages entrenched in forts of staked pickets with a moat.⁴⁰ Then the *Kinongewiniris* or the *Brochets*⁴¹ to the number of three villages; at the upper part of the river he found the *Mahantas* forming also three villages, and along the Missouri as he descended it as far as the mouth of the river Wabiek or a la Coquille, twenty-three villages of Panis.⁴²

39 For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 103. His explorations and voyages in the Northwest extended from 1731–43. In 1748 he was promoted to the grade of captain and given the cross of St. Louis; but while preparing to return to his Western explorations he died Dec. 6, 1749.— Ed.

40 The first journey that La Verendrye made overland from Fort La Reine, on Assiniboin River, was during the winter of 1738–39. He found the Mandan in six village forts on the Missouri River, extending from Heart River northward. See journal in *Canadian Archives*, 1889, pp. 2–25: see also Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York. 1904), index, for the sites of the old Mandan villages. The sons of La Verendrye returned to the Mandan in 1742, and pursued thence their course to the Rocky Mountains. Bougainville is evidently speaking of the two separate journeys as though they were one.— Ed.

41 Brochet means Pike, and therefore some writers have identified this tribe with the Assiniboin who called themselves Hohay (Fish catchers). However, the explorers had

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long been familiar with the Assiniboin and were not likely to have given them two names. From the location, these would appear to have been the Minitaree, of Hidatsa origin; see “Maximilian's Travels” in *Early Western Travels*, xxiii, pp. 377–385.— Ed.

42 This passage is difficult of interpretation. The Mahantas may have been the Maha, or Omaha, a Siouan tribe; but they are not known to have lived so far north. Neither does one descend the Missouri to reach the Riviere a la Coquille, which was the usual name given by French voyageurs to the Musselshell—a large northern affluent of the Missouri. Nor do the Panis (Pawnee) wander on the Musselshell, unless one accepts the conjecture that these were the Arikara, of the same linguistic stock as the Pawnee (Caddoan). The Arikara, however, were not known to have in historic times ascended so far to the north. The whole passage is confused, and doubtless interchanges the Musselshell and Platte rivers. to the latter of which the description better applies.— Ed.

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To the southwest of that river and on the two banks Ouonaradeba or *à la Graisse* are the Hactannes or Gens de serpent.⁴³ They extend to the foot of a chain of very high mountains, that run northeast and south, and south of which is the river *Karoskiou* or *Cerise pelée* that is supposed to reach California.⁴⁴

43 Granville Stuart, in Montana Historical Society *Contributions*, i, p. 313, very plausibly identifies this stream with Wind River, on whose banks grew much greasewood (*à la Graisse*), from which the stems of arrows were made. The Gens de Serpent were doubtless the Shoshoni, or Snakes, a powerful tribe who roamed in the mountainous regions of Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho.— Ed.

44 This river is easily identified with the Green, a northern branch of the Colorado south of the habitat of the Shoshoni. The aboriginal word for this stream in modern Shoshoni, is Kanaraogwa.— Ed.

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He continued his route and found in the immense country that the Missouri drains, on the opposite side, and about forty leagues from the *Mahantas*, the *Owilioek* or beaux hommes, four villages; opposite the *Brochets*, the *Macateoualasites* or *Pieds-Noirs*, three villages of about one hundred cabins each; opposite the Mandannes are the *Ospekakaerenousques* or the gens du plat côte, four villages; opposite the Panis are the gens de l'arc, called *Atchapcivinioques* by the Cristinaux, and *Utasibaoutchactas* by the *Assiniboels*, three villages; next were found the Makesch or Petits Renards, two villages; the *Piwassa* or Grands-Patients, three villages; the *Kakakoschena* or gens de la Pie, five villages; the *Kiskipisounouinini* or gens de la Jarretière, seven villages.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ The identification of these tribes is difficult; the following is merely a tentative approximation. Parkman (*Atlantic Monthly*, lxxvi, p. 740) thinks “Beaux Hommes” refers to the Crows. This seems probable from the habitat, and the fact that many early travellers speak of this tribe as tall, handsome men, who dressed finely.

The “Pied-Noir” are not the Blackfeet, for whom see *ante*, p. 187, note 38, but the tribe called by the French “Souliers Noirs” (Black Shoe), and by Lewis and Clark “Wetersoon.” They were of Hidatsa stock and lived in the neighborhood of the Minitaree.

Possibly the Gens du Plat Cote are the Arikara; the name appears however, to be an inversion of Grosventres (Big Bellies), which was often applied to the Minitaree. The true Grosventres were, however, a tribe in alliance with the Blackfeet—also known as Fails Indians.

Parkman thinks that the “gens de l'arc,” or men of the bow, were bands of the Sioux, and Prud'homme identifies them with the Bow Indians of Bow River, a mountain affluent of the Saskatchewan. La Verendrye's journal of the expedition of 1742—43, as given in Margry, *Découv. et Établ.*, vi, pp. 598—612, leads to the view that this tribe, with whom they long sojourned, and in whose company they first saw the Rocky Mountains, was either the

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Cheyenne or Arapaho, brave nomads of the plains east of the mountains, expert in the use of bow and arrow.

Petits Renards (Little Foxes) are not identified.

Possibly the Piassa or Grands-Parleurs (Great Talkers) are the Kiowa, a tribe of the plains allied to the Comanche.

Lewis and Clark mention a tribe whom they call Canenavich, whose name among French traders was Kite Indians. They may be the "Gens de ta Fie" (Magpie people). This tribe seems to have vanished, else to have amalgamated with some other.

Gens de la Jarretiere (Garter people) were no doubt those who wore the short leggings tied with woven garters just above the knee, instead of the long leggings to the thigh, worn by most Northern tribes. F. S. Dellenbaugh, *Breaking the Wilderness* (New York, 1905), p. 88, says this was the case with the tribes who came in contact with the Spanish in the Southwest; hence the Comanche or Navaho.— Ed.

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He could not go farther because of the war which was then being waged between the gens de la Jarretière and the neighboring nation. For the rest, it is scarcely proper for me to use the term villages for all the nations that inhabit the prairies; they form, like the Turks, wandering hordes, they follow the beasts by whose hunting they live, their dwellings are cabins of skins.

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The Népignons 46 is a post established at the north of Lake Superior; the commandant is its farmer, and the price of the lease is about four thousand francs; it includes the lake à la Carpe situated * * *

46 The first post founded on this lake was built by Duluth in 1684 and held by his brother, Sieur de la Tourette, as late as 1688. It was located on the northern shore of Lake Nipigon,

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and sometimes was called Fort La Tourette. The later French post (founded probably after the re-building of Mackinac, 1713) was at the mouth of River Nipigon. on the north shore of Lake Superior, Alexander Henry saw the ruins of this post when he passed here in 1775, and remarked on the fine furs obtainable there.— Ed.

The savages who trade there are the *Saulteux*; that nation is one of the most numerous of these countries, is a wandering one, does not sow anything, and lives only by hunting and fishing. There comes from this post ordinarily each year eighty to a hundred packages of *

* *

Pointe de Chagoamigon , (Monsieur de Beaubassin) is situated * * * This post is farmed until 1758 for eight thousand francs to the sieur de Saint-Luc; there are neither presents nor certificates, only the interpreter to pay. The commandant has three thousand francs for gratification.

The savages who come here to trade are the *Saulteux*. There issues annually from this post about two hundred and fifty packages.

Kamanistigoya (Monsieur do Repentigny) or the Three Rivers is situated * * * This post has been leased to the late Monsieur Cugnet for four thousand francs; as he has sublet it to sieur Toussaint Portier the court has allowed him the excess in order to reimburse him for the exploitation of the licenses of Saint-Maurice.

The king pays but two thousand livres of gratification to the commandant, there are no presents nor certificates; the lease of this post will end in 1758. The savages who come there to trade are the *Saulteux*. There comes annually from this post sixty to seventy packages of * * *

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Michipicoton is a post situated at the northeast of Lake Superior, as that of Kamanistigwia is at the northwest. The Saulteux come there to trade. There comes from this post fifty to sixty packages.

Sault de Sainte-Marie , a picket fort is situated on the strait between Lake Superior and Lake Huron; it was established in 1750.

The trade was accorded free to the commandant in order to facilitate the establishment. The king gives five hundred francs of gratification taken from Michilimakinac, of which this post is a dependency. The savages who trade there are the Saulteux. There comes from there annually a hundred packages. The sieur Debonne and the sieur de Repentigny have the concession of this post for a hereditary seigniory.

Trade and licenses .—In almost all of the posts the house where the officer in command lodges, surrounded by pickets, is honored with the name of fort. In Canada, they call a fort a species of public shop where trade in peltries is carried on with the savages, who give them in return for these the merchandise that they need. Formerly the posts were auctioned off, and the merchants could thus obtain possession; they gave a profit to the king and paid the officer who commanded. To-day the governor general disposes of them for the benefit of his favorites, with the approbation of the court. The most important are the Sea of the West, the post of la Baye, Saint-Joseph, the Nipigons, and Michilimakinac, if they do not give at the latter place many licenses. The post of Détroit has never been given away, there they have the license system.

There are posts where the trade is carried on for the benefit of the king; such are Toronto, Frontenac, Niagara, the petit Portage, la Presqu'Isle, the river au Boeuf, fort Machault, fort Duquesne. The traffic at these posts is very burdensome for the king, who always loses, and it is carried on only in order to preserve the good-will of the savages; but the store-keepers and the commandants take care to enrich themselves.

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The post of la Baye was worth in three years to Messieurs 193 Rigaud and Marin three hundred and twelve thousand livres; and in the time of Monsieur Marin père, who had as associates Messieurs de la Jonquière and Bigot, it produced more than one hundred and fifty thousand livres per year net. It was then that they proved the proverb, the blessing of peace is more valuable than war.

The returns from the post of the Sea of the West are also considerable.

License is the name given to the permission that the governor-general accords for a canoe loaded with six thousand livres of merchandise, which they carry for sale to one of the posts indicated. the price of this permission is fifty pistoles and the governor general, who determines whether he will give more or less in number, applies the funds received to the support of the poor families of officers. Account is rendered to the king for only twenty-two licenses; the governor often gives as many as forty, the half of the fifty pistoles goes into the king's treasury, and the other half is at the disposal of the governor for gratifications.

Michilimakinac is the entrepôt of all the posts of the north and Detroit of all those of the south.

Détroit the most beautiful country of all the Upper Nations, has a temperate climate, where the vine might be produced.

* * * * *

Savages.—Aouapou is a savage word employed by the Canadians to denote the complete suit of clothing that one must give to a savage. It consists of a blanket, a shirt, leggings, shoes, and a breechcloth; when there is added to this a capot, it is a present.

The equipment is the same for the women, except that in place of the breechcloth they give them a short skirt called a petticoat (machicotté), and if a young man lacks the courage to defend himself, and to come and go to war, they impose on him the ignominy

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of wearing a petticoat. The Five Nations, having formerly vanquished the Loups, adopted them, and forbade them going to war and ordered them to wear the petticoat. 13 194 These same Loups having been attacked by the English several years ago and having beaten them, they took off from them the petticoat, and returned to them the breechcloth.

Apichmont is a savage word used in the French language among the Canadians to express the winter equipment, in which there is a bear skin, the skin of a sea-wolf, snow shoes, a portage collar, leggings, etc.

Foot races .—At Détroit foot races between the savages and the Canadians are as celebrated as horse races in England. They take place in the spring. Ordinarily there are live hundred savages present, sometimes as many, as fifteen hundred. The course is a half league, going and returning from Détroit to the village of the Poutéouatamis; the road is well made and wide. There are posts planted at the two extremities; the wagers are very considerable, and consist of packages of peltries laid against French merchandise such as is in use among the savages.

The most celebrated Canadian who has run and won from the savages is a certain Campo;⁴⁷ his superiority is so well recognized that he is no longer admitted to the races.

⁴⁷ The Campeau family were among the principal habitants of Detroit. Two brothers, Michel and Jacques, removed there early in the history of the place, and by this time had numerous descendants. For a genealogy see M. C. W. Hamlin, *Legends of le Détroit* (Detroit, 1884), pp. 275–281.—ED.

There is to be found in the customs of the savages traces of the ancient usages of the Greeks, I see especially in their war-like manners and customs those of the heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* ; some of them also have the custom like the He brews of separating the women in cabins apart and having no intercourse with them during their courses. The separation of the houses is perhaps too much, but not to hold intercourse is

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according to the principles of a healthy physique and the love of humanity, not to raise an unfortunate progeny, destined to live in infirmity.

The king gives many presents to the savages of the Upper 195 Country, that cost in an ordinary year 150,000 francs; they supply their needs in return for peltries, and this is called carrying on trade, a custom that enriches the individuals to whom the posts are granted; in some the king reserves for himself the commerce, and as it is carried on at a disadvantage for the sole reason that it is for the king, he loses thereby each year, 100,000 crowns. These expenses are, nevertheless, much below those incurred in time of war to equip, arm, feed, reward, and give collars to so many of our domiciled savages, as well as to those of the Upper Country, when we wish them to come down to our assistance.

* * * * *

1757: SUBMISSION OF THE IOWA

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated July 20, 1757. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 102, fol. 84."]

Montreal , July 20, 1757.

Monseigneur —Previous to my arrival in this colony, the Ayoouois killed two Frenchmen in the Missouri country. I at once hastened to give my orders to the commandants of the posts whither that nation might come, that the first officer to whose post they came was to compel them themselves to bring me the murderers.

The commandant of La Baye⁴⁸ had occasion to see those Ayoouois. He spoke to them in my name with such firmness that 10 savages of the same nation came to Montreal expressly to deliver the murderers to me. They presented them to me in the name of their nation with great submission and resignation that I might have their heads broken if such

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was my intention. They nevertheless earnestly begged me to pardon them and assured me that they themselves would avenge the death

48 Sieur Hubert Conterot, for whom see *ante*, p. 184, note 28.— Ed.

196 of the two Frenchmen and would compensate me for their loss by the blows they would strike against the English.

All our nations of the upper countries and our domiciled savages who were in this town, to the number of from 1,700 to 1,800,⁴⁹ joined those Ayoouois and gave me the most touching words to induce me to pardon them. I did not deem it advisable to refuse them because all those nations were about to start to join my expedition against fort George and circumstances required that I should give proofs of kindness to all those nations.

49 The fall of Fort Oswego in the summer of 1756 produced a profound effect in the upper country; see *ante*, p. 164, note 6. Thereupon great numbers of the tribesmen, thinking the French cause liable to triumph, offered their services for the campaign of 1757. Early in May they began to arrive at Montreal, and detachments under trusted leaders were dispatched to the army at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. June 23, Montcalm wrote that there were eight hundred at Montreal, of whom four hundred were Ottawa, one hundred Foiles Avoines, three hundred Puants, Sakis, Renards, and Iowa—"the latter have never appeared before at Montreal." On the campaign there were 1,800 in all, of whom less than 500 were mission Indians. See lists in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x. p. 630; consult also "Journal of L  is," in *Levis MSS.*, i, pp. 89–91.— Ed.

Nevertheless, I made them very anxious to obtain that favor and granted it only after repeated solicitations.⁵⁰

50 Montcalm, in a letter to Bourlamaque, dated Montreal, June 23, 1757, writes the following description of this ceremony: "There occurred here, yesterday, the grand ceremony of pardoning two Iowas who had killed two Frenchmen, two years ago. They smoked the peace calumet; the murderers were brought out. bound, with the emblem of a

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slave [prisoner] in their hands, singing their death song as if they were to be burned. Saint-Luc and Marin fulfilled the functions of the chevalier de Dreux and Monsieur Desgranges.

“These savages, so the ladies say, dance much better than our domiciled ones, and one of these days they are to be reviewed on the plain du Sablon. The generals and the ladies will be present.” *Lévis MSS.*, v, pp. 175, 176.— Ed.

That favor will contribute more to restrain the savage nations than if I had had the two murderers' heads broken, because 197 all the nations that interested themselves in their fate are, at the same time, obliged to punish them if they dip their hands in French blood in future.⁵¹

51 In point of time between this document and the next, note the appointment of Charles Langlade as second in command at Michilimakinac— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii. p. 213. No doubt he went back with Indians returning from the siege of Fort George (William Henry). — Ed.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Vaudreuil .

1757: EXPLOITING LA BAYE

[Contract dated Sept. 30, 1757. MS. in Chicago Historical Society, O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 261.]

We the undersigned have made The Contract of Partnership for the Space of Three years Consecutively Commencing next spring one Thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight as follows.

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Be it known that Pierre Rigant de Vaudreüil possessor of La Baye des puants, the Sioux and their dependencies Cedes for Three Consecutive years Commencing next spring one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight to S[ieur] Jacque Ginsson and Ignace hubert⁵² a third interest in the Commerce of the Abovementioned post And Dependencies on the Conditions hereafter announced.

⁵² Two prominent traders of Montreal, allied by marriage. Jacques Giasson was born in 1709, married (1745) Marie Angélique Hubert, and was interred at Lake of Two Mountains in 1762. He left sons who continued the outfitting business in the Northwest during the British regime. Ignace Hubert *dit* La Croix was born at Montreal in 1719, and married there (1746) Angélique Porlier. Giasson went up to Mackinac the following spring—see letter to Langlade carried by him, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 213. It should, however, read, “The Sieur Giasson, Monsieur, will not leave you in ignorance,” etc.—Ed.

1st. That the said S s Giasson And hubert promise and 198 agree to maintain And Exploit The abovementioned post during the Course of Three years with the Exclusive Commerce of the said Place having the Liberty to take there such Clerks as shall be necessary Who are to be paid from the Sum total of The [Partnership; and That at least a third interest shall be accorded to them—a Third of The profit as well as In the losses, this shall be to the said partners collectively with M r de Rigaud sharing prorata with their Interest.

2nd. The said associates shall be Bound to make on the Account of The partnership the purchase of the necessary merchandise for the exploitation of the Abovementioned post, to employ Such Commissioner or Outfitters as they shall Judge best—the said S r. de Rigault wishing that the associates may be entirely Charged with The administration of the said post, and not intending to interfere in any wise by means of His authority.

3d. The Contracting parties Agree that the two associates exploiting in the first year of the Cession shall Be held to pay for the Common charge of The said partnership only the Salaries accorded to the Commandant and to The interpreter and in Case that in The last

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two years M r de Rigault is obliged to pay to the King The lease of the said post The said associates shall enter into The said lease only to The sum of eight thousand Livres without being liable either for the salary of the Commandant nor That of The interpreter, They will enter therein in proportion to the interest that they have in the said Partnership.

4th. Upon Their arrival at the post There shall Be made in the presence and sight of M r Couterot an Inventory. of the goods Remaining there, and for These goods the associates shall Agree to pay to M r. de Rigault fifteen [percent] more than for those that they bought in Montreal The Credits of the savages which are Turned in shall be Placed In the Assets of the partnership, and Upon The dissolution of The same, The said associates Renounce Entirely those that would be due to them, and turn them over to the said S r. de Rigault.

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It is likewise Agreed between The said parties that Neither one of the Two can ask Anything upon his own account nor Draw out of The said partnership any funds until The Dissolution of The said partnership

The Commandant cannot for any Reason whatsoever carry on any Commerce Within All the Limits of the said post; the undersigned associates are Bound to Receive In the Canoes Only The amount of Two thousand weight Each year simply for his subsistence. If The said Commandant is called to missilimakinnac lie shall make use of the ordinary means of conveyance which The partnership Employs for Its Commerce and not demand an especial conveyance, Likewise for His Return to Montreal. Mens r. De Rigault agrees to Settle with M. The Intendant for the Sums which have been advanced to Him out of the Returns that he will Receive from the said post next autumn, so that the present Partnership shall not Be Held To accept the debts that will be Contracted.

The undersigned associates shall be fed at the expense of The partnership without either of them being able to exact A Detailed Account of the expense of the food and Drink that they may Consume It will be permitted to Them also to procure on the account of

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the partnership The clothes that they wear, such As Shirts, Capots, mitasses, and other necessities of the said Place; They shall not be Required to pay rent for any Building for Lodging nor in Case it shall be necessary to construct a New one [shall they pay for it]. They have Nothing to Add to the above. It shall Be Allowable for One Of the Two associates to Descend to Montreal if he shall judge that his presence Is necessary there for the Welfare of The said Partnership.

The undersigned associates have Thus Agreed to faithfully observe the present Contract and have Signed at Montreal September thirtieth, one thousand Seven hundred and Fifty-Seven. Rigaud de Vaudreuil.

I. G. Hubert .

Jacque Giasson

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1757: TRADE WITH UPPER POSTS

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated Oct. 30, 1757. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 102, fol. 165."]

Quebec , October 30, 1757.

Monseigneur —The trade that Monsieur Bigot has caused to be carried on for the King's account at the posts of Frontenac, Niagara, and Belle Rivierre would have been considerable this year had those posts been sufficiently supplied with goods; but they were unprovided while the nations of the upper countries had an abundance. Most of them even left their furs in His Majesty's store-houses and were content with a note from the store-keeper who promised to fill their demands next spring. I had foreseen that our present dearth of all things would place us in that position but notwithstanding Monsieur Bigot's willingness, he was unable to remedy this. We are as much unprovided as unfortunately

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the needs of the service are becoming more urgent. It is certain, Monseigneur, that, when peace comes, the King's posts will return large profits through the abundance of furs that will come to them from all sides as the Savages no longer have the advantage they had of trading at Chouaguen.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Vaudreuil .

1758: SUB-LEASE OF NORTHERN POSTS

[Contract between Deschambault⁵³ and Chevalier de Repentigny, dated March 24, 1758. MS. in Chicago Historical Society, O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 363.]

⁵³ Joseph Fleury, Sieur d'Eschambault, was born in 1709, and having inherited a large capital and much financial ability, became the greatest merchant of the colony, and agent for the Company of the Indies, then the chief trading corporation in New France. During the latter years of the French and Indian War, he used his great fortune and credit for the benefit of the state, and after the conquest of the colony found himself much embarrassed. Dying in 1789 he left numerous descendants. He was a nephew of the Marquise de Vaudreuil, and brother-in-law of Rigaud.— Ed.

Concerning the offers that Monsieur Le Chevalier de Repentigny wishes to make me, to have ceded to me the posts of 201 Kamenetigouia and michipicoton free from the Charges of the lease; and [on] the condition of taking all the Merchandise to be sold at a profit that remains at these two posts at 10 percent advance on the invoices that the outfitters make this year at Montreal; also the Merchandise at list price [*a prix fait*], at 5 percent advance of that of [established by] the said Outfitters. The Utensils and equipment of the said Posts [to be taken] according to the Estimate that Shall be made at Michilimakinac. Requiring that the payment be made next year on The returns of the said posts in Beaver or peltries,

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and moreover that a third of what the Inventory to be made shall show be paid to him this autumn.

The Following is the reply that I have the honor to make to these offers.

1. I will take all the Merchandise to be sold at a profit that remains at the said posts according to the inventory at 10 percent advance on the price that Monsieur St. ange, Outfitter for the post of Labay, has charged This year; also the Merchandise at list price at 5 percent advance on the purchase price as shown in the invoice of Messieurs Toussaint and Hery, your Outfitters.

As for the equipment and utensils I understand that there are only a few Canoe Sails, Nets, and some Axes already used, these I consent likewise to take according to the price that Shall be estimated.

2. In the matter of payment, I consent to give next year all the returns as well in beaver as peltry which shall come down from said posts in payment of what Shall be due, And as [MS. mutilated] the said returns may recompense me and satisfy [MS. mutilated] entirely; be it understood that this 202 is on the basis that Monsieur de Repentigny has said to me that There remains in these two posts more than One Hundred thousand Livres [worth of furs]. It may happen that there shall remain there greater sums than the returns that come down, in that case I Consent to pay that which remains [MS. mutilated] only the following year.

If the offers hereinbefore mentioned are accepted by Mons r. de Repentigny and meet with the approbation of Monsieur the General, will the former have The Goodness to Communicate to me The Letters that he receives this autumn from His Clerks or associates in the said posts, and to send me the reports that are sent from there, that I may understand the state of affairs.

3. The farmers who offer to take your posts on the Conditions that are made to you, demand that the Lease shall be for six years, in order to put themselves in a position to make the necessary Outlay that they propose to have made, and to trade at low prices, which is the Sole means of attracting there all The Savages of These two posts who have entirely departed thence and of whom a large part are gone to Hudson Bay; moreover the war which possibly may continue is a sufficient obstacle [in itself] to necessitate the request for time for recouping one's self at Labay for the great losses that one Runs the risk of making there.

Dechambault .

At Montreal , March 24, 1758.

I accept the pests of Kamanetegouia and michipicoton on the Conditions as thus explained in the two first articles announced in the present document without insisting on the third; and I promise to have the act passed before a notary, whenever M. De Repentigny shall desire it.

Dechambault .

Done at Montreal , March 24, 1758.

Le Gardeur de Repentigny .

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1758: DISTURBANCE AT LA BAYE

[Reports from several sources of an emeute at the post of La Baye. The first, reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.* , x, p. 840.]

May 16th . News from all the Upper posts. * * * The Commandant of Detroit is dying;54 the Five Nations go rarely to Niagara; there is a little fermentation and discontent against

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us among the Indians of St. Joseph, the Miamis, and Outias [Ouiatanon]. The Folles Avoins have killed eleven Canadians at The Bay; missed the Commandant and pillaged a storehouse. A great many Indians have died at Michilimakinac. The Commandant of Louisiana writes that they have had no ships from France for two years, and that he is greatly embarrassed having nothing to give the Nations.

54 This was Sieur de Muy, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 183. His death is there given too early; it occurred May 18. 1758. He was second in command at Detroit under Céloron, being appointed chief commandant and major in 1755.— Ed.

[Reprinted from François Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War*, translated and edited by Franklin B. Hough (Roxbury, Mass, 1866), i, p. 104.]

We learned about this time [early in May], by a courier from Niagara, that the Indians called *Folles-Avoines*, had killed twenty-two French, and pillaged the magazine of the post at La Baye. They will soon make reparation for what they have done.

[Letter from Montcalm, dated Montreal, May 15, 1758. Translated from the *Lévis MSS.*, v, p. 247.]

Letters come from the Illinois, la baie, Saint-Joseph, Louisiana, and none from Belle Rivière. That which is to be deplored is that the Iowa⁵⁵ have struck us at la Baie, and slain twenty-two Frenchmen, and the Commandant has shown himself inept through fear. Also towards the Illinois several savages have killed Frenchmen and made an officer prisoner.

55 Mistake of Avoines (from Folles Avoines) for Ayoues (Iowa). It was a Menominee uprising.— Ed.

[Entry in Montcalm's journal, dated Aug. 13, 1758. Translated from *Lévis MSS.*, vii, p. 432.]

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The Folles Avoines have sent as prisoners to Montreal the seven savages of their nation, who this winter have assassinated a French family at la Baie. Three of them have been shot on the town square, and the other four must go to the war and expose themselves to danger [*jeter leur corps*] in order to expiate their crime. This submission of an independent nation more than five hundred leagues distant, does great honor to the French name.

1758: EXCESSIVE EXPENDITURE

[Letter in cipher, from the French minister to Vaudreuil and Bigot, dated Sept. 23, 1758. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "serie B, vol. 107, fol. 53."]

Versailles , September 23, 1758.

Messieurs —The opportunity afforded by a merchant ship about to sail from Brest and which expects to reach the entrance of the river before the ice forms, leaves me only time to acknowledge the receipt of all the letters you sent me by the frigate la Valeur. I put off answering each one in particular until I have received those I expect by the last vessels you will send off this autumn, but I cannot conceal from you how I have been struck by the excessive expenditure of the Colony, 3205 above all, that for this year which, Monsieur Bigot tells me, will amount to 20 millions, besides the expenses incurred for the savages in the Upper Country, owing to the ravages of smallpox among them,⁵⁶ and which will be an additional million. It is impossible, notwithstanding the high price of provisions and the quantities consumed in war, that the expenditure can amount to such an enormous sum without there having been neglect or abuse * * *

⁵⁶ The Indians carried back smallpox with them from the siege of Fort William Henry (1757), and numbers died thereof at Mackinac in the winter of 1757–58.— Ed.

1758: DISTRUST AND DISHONESTY AT POSTS

[Translated from Montcalm's journal, in *Lévis MSS* ., vii, pp. 457, 489, 490.]

News from St. Joseph River of October 1. Smallpox, that has ravaged among the savages the past year, together with the artifices instigated in their midst by the English, have occasioned much fermentation among the savages of the Upper Country. This spirit has even spread among the Poutéotamis, always attached to the French, the sole savage nation that has never been reproached for any murder. They have, however, wished to assassinate a Canadian, according to letters from Monsieur le Verrier, commandant of that post. The news of the success of the battle of July 857 restrained them.

57 Referring to Montcalm's defeat of Abercrombie's forces at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, where the former repelled an army of nearly four times the number of his own.— Ed.

Dec. 10. These posts [of the Upper Country] in times of peace have been worth immense sums to their proprietors, by means of the pernicious trade in brandy and the presents of the 206 King that they sell instead of giving to the savages. The war, rendering merchandise dear, has made these posts worth little or nothing; but as the proprietor or merchant is also a commanding officer, one must suppose that they fabricate a supply of certificates for expenses incurred in behalf of the savages. The excess of these has been enormous. This year there appeared eleven thousand livres⁵⁸ of expense at Michilimackina. Monsieur le marquis de Vaudreuil has not yet been willing to sign for more than one hundred thousand écus;⁵⁹ that is far too much, but it will be obtained. At the post of la bale which belongs to Monsieur de Rigaud his brother, and is exploited by his lieutenant, Monsieur de Couteret, nephew of the said Monsieur de Rigaud, although this post has produced fifty thousand écus worth in peltries and the cost has not been more than thirty thousand livres, that officer has presented five hundred thousand livres of certificates that the marquis de Vaudreuil has signed. The intendant, accustomed, moreover, to pass all, has protested, and has wished to give only forty thousand livres in letters of exchange for the first term. Finally, after urgent solicitations, this matter has been arranged at two hundred thousand livres of certificates for imaginary expenses. The Sieur

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de Couteret has produced letters of Monsieur Rigaud, authorizing him to make a great quantity of certificates. Legal proof of these facts is impossible; the signature of the two King's officers covers all; but the facts are publicly stated. Never have theft and license gone so far.

58 This should be eleven hundred thousand livres. See preceding document.— Ed.

59 An écu was a silver coin, worth at this period, six livres. A livre was worth within a small fraction of what equals the modern franc. The purchasing power of money was, however, much greater at that period than at present, so that this sum was equivalent to between five and six hundred thousand dollars of the American currency of today.— Ed.

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1759: GRANT OF LA BAYE TO RIGAUD

[Letter from the French minister to Vaudreuil, dated Jan. 26, 1759. MS. in Archives Coloniales. Paris; pressmark, "série B, vol. 109, fol . 24."]

Versailles , January 26, 1759.

Monsieur —I had much pleasure in reporting favorably to the King on the services rendered by Monsieur de Rigaud in Canada. His Majesty is so satisfied with them that he has been pleased to concede the post of la Baye for life to him and to Madame de Rigaud. His Majesty has departed in his favor from the rule he has laid down in the colony to farm out the posts and not concede any more to any person. This is a favor the extent whereof you are aware; and I most willingly contributed to it.

You will see, however, by a joint letter to you and Monsieur Bigot that I have not been able to send to Monsieur de Rigaud the patent he needs for the enjoyment of that post, owing to lack of information to be entered in it; but such enjoyment shall not be delayed because

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His Majesty has authorized you to grant Monsieur de Rigaud such concession, which will be ratified next year on the collated copy you have sent me.

[Letter from Rigaud to the French minister, dated Sept. 13, 1759. Source, same as preceding document, but C 11, vol. 104, fol. 86.]]

Montreal , September 13, 1759.60

60 It is worth noting that this letter from Rigaud, governor of Montreal, was written on the very day of the battle on the Plains of Abraham, that determined the destinies of New France.— Ed.

I have received the letter you were good enough to write me on the 26th January last. I am very grateful for your kindness in procuring from His Majesty the concession for life of the post of la Baie, for Madame de Rigaud and myself. I feel, Monseigneur, that I am indebted for this favor from the King to the reports you have been pleased to give him respecting my services.

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I have the honor to inform you of all that has occurred until today in my government. You will see by the report I send that I have done all I could, under the unfortunate circumstances in which the colony was placed, to give the King sure proofs of my zeal and faithfulness in his service.

* * * * *

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient servant

Rigaud de Vaudreuil y.

1759: NEWS FROM THE UPPER COUNTRY

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[Extracts from contemporary documents. The first is translated from the journal of Lévis in the *Lévis MSS.*, i, p. 171.]

Monsieur the marquis de Vaudreuil has received March 2, news of the Upper Country. They inform him that the savages continue to be well-disposed toward us; and from the Illinois word comes that provisions will be sent to the Beautiful River [Ohio] by way of the Ouabaches and the portage of the Miamis to lake Erie. The commandant of the Illinois has hopes that he can send the same quantity as last year, and that Monsieur Aubry⁶¹ will have charge of the convoy and the reinforcements of men.

⁶¹ Charles Philippe Aubry, the last French governor of Louisiana, entered the army in 1741, and served in eight campaigns in Bavaria, Bohemia, and Italy. Soon after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) he was sent with a detachment of soldiers to New Orleans. Not long after the commencement of the French and Indian War, Aubry led (1756) a reinforcement to the Illinois. The following year he was sent to build a fort near the Tennessee River, and reconnoitred many miles up that stream toward the English settlements. In the autumn of the same year he repulsed an attack of a considerable body of Cherokee from Fort Massac. Early in 1758 (March 10), Aubry set out with a large convoy from the Illinois for Fort Duquesne. There he led the charge against Major Grant's forces, and severely defeated them. For lack of provisions, Aubry had retired to the Illinois before the arrival of Forbes's troops. In 1759 Aubry led a large convoy and detachment to Fort Machault, that joined Des Lignery at that place early in July. The 24th of the same month they were defeated near Niagara by a body of English, and Aubry was carried prisoner to New York. Having been exchanged, he was in Paris early in 1761, and after receiving the cross of St. Louis returned to Louisiana. There he was commandant of troops, until upon the death of d'Abbadie (Feb. 4, 1765), he became governor. Involved in the revolution of 1768 against the Spaniards, Aubry was accused of betraying his compatriots to the Spanish authorities. He left the colony late in 1769 and was lost in a shipwreck before reaching France.— Ed.

[Extracts from letters from Montcalm to Bourlamaque, dated March 12 and 15, 1759. Translated from Lévis MSS., v, pp. 290–292.]

Our news from Detroit of the 13 [of January] speaks of the scarcity of provisions, and the letters especially say that the Hurons wish to remain tranquil on their mats. The letters from Michilimakinac speak of the scarcity of provision, and the difficulty of making the savages come down.

According to Monsieur the marquis de Vaudreuil there is good news from Michilimakinac, la baie, Saint-Joseph, the Oyatonons—great affection of the savages. According to the same, good news from Detroit—great affection of the savages. However the Hurons, invited by a collar to an assembly, went there, although Bellestre told them that they rendered themselves suspected by these means.

[Extract from the journal of Montcalm, dated May 11, 1759, in *Lévis MSS* , vii, p. 518.]

Monsieur de Bellestre writes from Detroit that we must not expect great succor from thence; there does not yet appear to be any movement [of the savages].

There is no news of the convoy from the Illinois. According to the deposition of a prisoner at the Beautiful River, 210 the English desire to attempt something by the river of the Chérokis against a fort that we have in that region.⁶² They have also raised a considerable body of troops in Virginia. However this deposition is the only one that speaks of these things, the others do not say a word of it.

⁶² A fort near the mouth of Tennessee (Cherokee) River was projected in 1756 , but failed of accomplishment for lack of funds. In 1757, on the rumored approach of a large body of Cherokee, led by English colonists, Major Macarty, commandant at the Illinois, dispatched Aubry to erect such a fort. He named it Fort de l'Ascension, because the first pickets were placed on the holy day of that name. Next year the fort was rechristened

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Massiac (Massac) in honor of the minister of the marine. This fort was attacked in the autumn of 1757 by a considerable body of Indians, who after some days were repulsed. The garrison was maintained until 1765, being reduced in 1763 to one officer and fifteen men. The fort was a square, flanked with four bastions at the corners, and protected by pickets and an abattis of tree trunks. It occupied the only elevated site in that region, eleven miles below the mouth of the Tennessee, on the northern side of the Ohio. English engineers recommended the reoccupation of this site, but this was never done, and George Rogers Clark here started (1778) overland for his conquest of the Illinois. In 1794 the United States built a fort upon the site, to repel filibustering expeditions against Spanish Louisiana. This last post was garrisoned until after the War of 1812–15, and some vestiges of the earthworks thereof are still to be seen.— Ed.

They say that Monsieur de Langlade is on the march with many savages from the region of Michilimakinac, to come, it is said, to our vicinity.

News from Saint-Joseph: Monsieur le Verrier, who commands there, waits with impatience the return of the savages who are out hunting, in order to send them down according to the orders of Monsieur the marquis de Vaudreuil.

[Extract from Pouchot, *Memoir* , i, p. 114.]

On the 17th [of May, 1759], a Sauteur of Saguinan informed us that the commandant, Monsieur Bellestre, was there, 211 and only awaited an order from Monsieur Pouchot⁶³ to come from Detroit, and that he had come to inform him so. The succors expected were greatly delayed, and still more than a hundred leagues distant.

⁶³ François Pouchot was born in Grenoble in 1712, and entered the engineer corps in 1733. He became an officer in the regiment of Béarn, and campaigned in Italy, Flanders, and Germany. Promoted to a captaincy, and receiving the cross of St. Louis, he came to Canada with his regiment in 1755 and served on the principal campaigns. Montcalm commended him for his services at Ticonderoga in 1758. The following year he was sent

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to command at Niagara—a forlorn hope, to preserve the colony on that side. Approached by a large army under Johnson and Prideaux. he surrendered to the former in July, 1759, and was sent prisoner to Albany. Here he was exchanged later in the year. The next year Pouchot guarded Fort Lévis as long as was possible. Returning to France after the surrender of Canada, he lived quietly at Grenoble until the Corsican campaign, wherein he was killed in ambush in 1769.— Ed.

Langlade, a colonial officer living in this country, was to have come down to Montreal with 1,000 Indians. Of this number there were some Folles Avoines, who as we have said killed two Frenchmen. They brought with them two of those most culpable in this murder, and delivered them to Monsieur de Vaudreuil, in an assembly where they covered these bodies. Monsieur de Vaudreuil gave them back to do justice, and they slew them with their arms, the first event of this kind on the part of the Indians since Europeans had lived in the country.⁶⁴ Finally, the nations of the Upper Country decided to leave and descend by way of the Great River and Presqu' Isle.⁶⁵

64 This refers to events of the previous year; see *ante*, pp. 203, 204. Pouchot means to say that with Langlade, on his voyage clown the Ottawa, were some of the tribe of Folles Avoines (Menominee) to whom this incident happened the previous year.— Ed.

65 This should read that the nations of the upper country have decided to divide, and part (those from the northern posts) come by the Ottawa route; and the others (from Detroit and the Illinois) come by way of Lake Erie and Presqu'isle.— Ed.

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[Extract dated June 29, 1759, from Pouchot, *Memoir* , i, p. 159.]

On the 29th [of June, 1759], a courier from Presque Isle announced that one hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians would soon arrive from Detroit; six or seven hundred Indians with Monsieur Lintot, a hundred Indians with Monsieur Rayeul,⁶⁶ and also the convoy of Monsieur Aubry from Illinois, with a party of six or seven hundred from

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the Mississippi. There would consequently be required a large amount of provisions to receive them. Some Indians from Michilimakinac arrived the same evening, saying, that Messieurs la

66 This first officer was probably from Fort Miami. There were two young officers in the colony by the name of Godefroy de Linctot, both of them descendants of the officer noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 380. At the conquest of Canada one of these was a lieutenant and one a first ensign. They went to France, but in 1762 received permission to return to Canada. They seem to have established themselves as traders in the upper country, with headquarters at Cahokia, although in 1778 one was at Mackinac— *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 287. Gautier speaks of both brothers in his journal of that year— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 105, 107. The one he mentions as “Sr. Delinctot laine,” is the elder. These may have been father and son, although it was more usual in Canada thus to designate two brothers of the same name. One of the brothers died that winter— *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 8. The other who lived at Cahokia, was favorable to the American cause, and soon after George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Illinois (1778), allied himself with the latter, and was appointed to secure the allegiance of the Indians. In this he was so successful as to occasion much disturbance among the British officers at Mackinac and Detroit— *see post*. Early in 1779 Linctot was chosen captain of a company raised by Clark to co-operate with him against Detroit. Linctot advanced to Ouiatanon, but Clark not having sufficient force at Vincennes to unite with him, the attempt was abandoned. Linctot was later raised to the rank of major. In 1780 he visited Fort Pitt in the interest of the American Indian alliance. In the summer of the following year he wrote Clark from St. Louis, but appears to have died soon afterwards.

Rayeul should be Bayeul (Bailleul), commandant at Quiatanon, for whom see *ante*, p. 175, note 14.— Ed.

213 Verranderie⁶⁷ and Langlade were coming down the great river, with twelve hundred Indians, Cristinaux, Sioux, Sakis, Folles-Avoines, Sauters and Reynards.⁶⁸

67 Evidently this is Pierre Gautier de la Vérendrye, son of the officer noted on p. 188, note 39. For a brief sketch see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 465. It has generally been supposed that La Vérendrye never returned to his Western posts after the death of his father in 1749. This, however, would indicate otherwise, as the Cristinaux Indians were evidently from the Post of the Sea of the West. Moreover, on the day before the battle of the Plains of Abraham, Vaudreuil speaks of proposals made by St. Luc and La Vérendrye for arrangements for the Western posts. See *Lévis MSS.*, viii, p. 106.— Ed.

68 For the services of these Indians during the siege of Quebec, consult *Lévis MSS.*, passim. July 25th, they took part in a sharp engagement near the Falls of Montmorency, which if properly supported might have wrought great havoc in the English army—see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 140–145. In the battle of the Plains of Abraham, Sept. 13th, Canadians and Indians formed on the right, and harassed the English with a cross-fire until driven back by a detachment from Wolfe's army. For the tradition of Langlade's participation, see *Id.*, iii, pp. 217, 218. The brothers supposed to be killed were probably half-brothers, sons of his mother while Madame Villeneuve.— Ed.

1760: GARRISON AT FORT MASSAC

[Translated from transcript in Wisconsin Historical Library. Draper MSS. 23J152, made in 1845 from papers of the Rocheblave family at Montreal.]

May 22, 1760.

We Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villier Major Commanding the Province of the Illinois⁶⁹ Order
Sieur de Rocheblave Lieutenant

69 Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villiers did not belong, as has been supposed (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 118, 119) to the family of Coulon de Villiers. He was born of a rich and noble family of Lorraine, entered the army in 1735, and served on the continent during King George's War (1744–48). In 1749 he was sent to Louisiana and there married (1754)

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the sister-in-law of Governor Kerlérec . In 1755 he was made major commandant at the Illinois , second to Macarty, whom he replaced in 1760. The period of his governorship was a trying one, falling in the years of the change of allegiance, and of Pontiac's conspiracy. In 1764 he put his command into the hands of St. Ange, and retired to New Orleans. Thence, the following year, he returned to Paris, where he lived until 1773. In the latter year, being made colonel of a regiment, he went to the West Indies, became brigadier-general and governor of a small colony, and died at sea after capture by an English vessel in 1779. See account by his descendant, Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, p. 190.— Ed.

214 at half pay in one of the companies of the troops of the Marines in this colony70 to depart from this fort on the 22d of May with two boats and 50 soldiers and habitants charged with supplies and ammunition necessary for Fort Massiac , where he

70 Philippe François , Sieur de Rocheblave, was born in France, and entered the army there, being retired on half-pay after the peace of 1748. Some time before the French and Indian War he came to Canada and was admitted to the colonial troops as cadet. It is claimed that he served against Braddock— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 113, 115. In 1756 he was on the Fort Duquesne frontier, and in 1759 was employed in guarding the boats of the Illinois detachment with Aubry, near Fort Niagara. He thus escaped capture, and retreated to Detroit and the Illinois, where this document proves that he was a half-pay lieutenant. In 1763 he was retired from the army and married at Kaskaskia to Michel Marie Dufresne. In 1765 he retired to the Spanish side of the Mississippi River, probably with St. Ange's party, and the next year was commandant at Ste. Geneviève , where he seems ultimately to have entered the Spanish service. In 1770 he had an altercation with the British commandant of the Illinois, that was a subject of correspondence between the two powers— *Chicago Hist. Soc. Colls.*, iv, p. 364. In 1773, owing to some legal difficulties with the Spaniards, he returned to British Illinois, and when Capt. Hugh Lord retired thence in May, 1776, he left Rocheblave in charge of British interests. There he was captured, July 4, 1778, by Col. George Rogers Clark, of the Virginia troops, and sent prisoner to that

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state. Placed on parole, he either evaded or broke his agreement and by July, 1780 joined the British in New York. The next year he was in Quebec, claiming damages and back-pay. In 1782–83 he visited Detroit, and probably Kaskaskia, and at the close of the war retired with his family to Varennes, near Montreal. At one time he was a member of the provincial parliament, and died in lower Canada in 1802. The Philippe de Rocheblave who was a habitant of Kaskaskia in 1790 was doubtless his son, and descendants yet reside in Canada. Nephews of his were in the employ of the North West Fur Company.— Ed.

PHILIPPE-FRANÇOIS RASTEL, SIEUR DE ROCHEBLAVE Commandant at Massac and Kaskaskia. From portrait in possession of the family

215 will report with the greatest possible promptitude. He will exercise vigilance in the care of his supplies, as well as for the safety of the detachment confided to him, taking care to land only at places which appear to him most advantageous in affording shelter from incursions of the enemy.

Knowing the capacity and experience of Sieur de Rocheblave we have thought that no better choice could be made to supersede Sieur Declouet⁷¹ who at present commands at said fort Massiac, who will in accordance with our orders relinquish the Command to him together with the instructions which he has received from M. de Macarty which we do not modify in any of the articles, authorizing them as if they had emanated from us, those which refer to the service of the Fort as well as those relating to distribution of supplies & ammunition, upon which Sieur de Rocheblave cannot bestow [too much] attention.

⁷¹ There was a French officer of this name in New Orleans, who became a Spanish subject, and before 1803 was captain of militia.— Ed.

We should think it an injustice to Sieur de Rocheblave to remind him of the discipline which he ought to maintain in the Fort, and of the care he must take to cultivate good feeling between the soldiers and the habitants.

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We will simply content ourselves with suggesting to him that drink being the only thing that could disturb the tranquility and unity so necessary in that post, we deem ourselves indispensably obliged to order him to keep his hands upon all that may be on board of every kind except that which the king is accustomed to send for the relief of the sick and wounded that may be in the garrison.

We remark to Sieur de Rocheblave that he must make no disbursement nor repairs except such as have been previously approved by us. As to the number of soldiers and habitants which should compose the garrison of said fort he will allow it to remain in the state in which it will be committed to him by 216 Monsieur De Barry Lieutenant acting as aide-major,⁷² changing nothing therein.

72 This officer retired to New Orleans, and was made major of that city before 1765.— Ed.

As regards changes whether of soldiers or habitants, we leave it to him to give leave therefor. As to that which every good Christian owes to God his creator, we know too well the sentiments of Sieur de Rocheblave to think it necessary to recommend to him to have prayers offered evening and morning and to put a check upon the blasphemy and oaths to which soldiers are only too much addicted.

In regard to unforeseen events we can only, as we have before said, rely upon the capacity, vigilance, good conduct and experience in war of Sieur de Rocheblave.

Neyon De Villier

Done and given at Fort Chartre The 22d May, 1760.

1760: THE WAR DRAWS TO A CLOSE

[Letters from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated June 24, 1760. Reprinted from *N. Y Colon. Docs.* , x, pp. 1091–1094.]

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Montreal , 24th June, 1760.

My Lord —I have the honor to render you an account of the news I have received from M. de MacCarty, Commandant of Fort Chartres.

He observes to me that his garrison is weaker than it ever has been. In fact, the check at Niagara has cost him the élite of his men.

He informs me that the English were noting down the islands and rivers which disembogue into that of the Cherakis.

In the last days of the month of June of the last year, five Chaouoinons of Charretier's band,⁷³ came to him and told him

⁷³ For Chartier see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 331.— Ed.

²¹⁷ there were forty of their cabins in the river coming to ask him for a piece of ground, as theirs was not good. M. de MacCarty sent some provisions to those Indians whom he placed near Fort Massiac;⁷⁴ they were mere useful and less dangerous there, than when collected together at Sonyote [Scioto].

⁷⁴ This was probably the origin of the term Shawneetown, for the site of the Illinois village of that name. It was known that Shawnee once resided here, but the date and circumstances of the settlement have not before been known.— Ed.

They have taken, at different times, four prisoners, ten scalps, but being menaced by a strong party of the enemy, they have abandoned Fort Massiac in the beginning of October, and retired towards the Illinois.

* * * * *

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The English being vigilant, profit by our scarcity of goods. They have invited the Illinois Nations to go to trade at The Rock [Le Rocher].⁷⁵

⁷⁵ The enterprise of the English traders is here to be noted, that even before the capitulation of Montreal they had made plans to penetrate so far into the enemy's territory as Illinois River.— Ed.

M. de MacCarty having no traders, fears that those Nations, notwithstanding their good disposition, will repair to the English and introduce messages into all their villages.

M. de MacCarty writes me on the 12th of April last, that the English having had wagon loads of tar and tow conveyed to Pittsburgh, where they were building bateaux, he has caused Fort Massiac to be terraced, fraized and fortified, piece upon piece, with a good ditch.

That the fort he has built at Kaskakiés is up to the parapet,⁷⁶

⁷⁶ The fort at Kaskaskia was built before 1734; see plan in Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*. p. 217. This work was evidently rebuilding and strengthening the post, which was situated upon a commanding rock on the eastern bank of Kaskaskia River, opposite the town. It was, however, burned in October, 1766, and the British thereafter fortified and occupied the Jesuits' house in the village, which was the stronghold captured by Clark in 1778. See map of Kaskaskia settlements, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 428, for location of old French fort.— Ed.

²¹⁸ that he has made all the arrangements he has considered necessary, according to his strength to receive the enemy.

I have strongly recommended him to be on his guard. M. de Noyan de Villiers, who has been sent to relieve him, will be very vigilant.

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All the garrisons belonging to our posts on the Beautiful river are retiring to Detroit with as much provisions, artillery, ammunition and merchandise as they can stow away in the bateaux; the surplus was given to the Indians.

The domiciliated Mississagués of Presqu'isle followed the French to Detroit.

All the Nations of the Beautiful river witnessed with sorrow the departure of the French. Chevalier de Portneuf⁷⁷ sent them a message, especially to the Chaouinons, to engage them to persevere in their good dispositions.

⁷⁷ Etienne Robineau, Sieur de Portneuf-Neuvillette, belonged to the younger branch of the house of Portneuf. In 1748 he was made ensign, and led a raid from Fort St. Frédéric . At the opening of the French and Indian War (1754) he was with the detachment at Camp Chautauqua, employed in making batteaux for the transport of canoes and provisions. He seems to have accompanied Montcalm to Oswego in 1756. The following year, promoted to a lieutenancy, he was made commandant at Presqu'isle, being the last French officer at that place. In 1760 he retired to Detroit, as this document states, when the fort was occupied by a detachment from Fort Pitt under command of Col. Henry Bouquet. At the close of the war, Portneuf retired to France, but later returned to New Orleans and the Illinois.— Ed.

M r Hertel, whom I had stationed at Sonyoto, has kept his ground.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Apparently there was no fort at the mouth of the Scioto, but a well-built Indian village of log-houses where the Shawnee made their headquarters, a French officer being kept there to maintain allegiance between them and the French.

There was a large family of Canadian noblesse known as Hertel. This was probably Pierre Antoine, Chevalier de Hertel, who was known to have been at Detroit in July, 1760. He

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was in France in 1762, but the following year received permission to return to Canada. He does not appear to have married.— Ed.

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[Extract from a letter of Vaudreuil dated Montreal, Aug. 17, 1760. Translated from *Lévis MSS* ., viii, p. 208.]

I understand that Monsieur de Bourlamaque remains quiet; I sent him today the savages from the Upper Country with the Sieur de Langlade.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Colonel de Bourlamaque was third in command of the French army sent with Montcalm to Canada in 1756. He acted as chief of engineers, was an officer of talent and experience, and possessed the full confidence of his chief. He accompanied Montcalm on the latter's campaigns of 1756–58; but in 1759 was assigned to the defense of the Lake Champlain frontier. Here he destroyed Ticonderoga and abandoned Crown Point, but prevented Amherst from making a junction with Wolfe. In the campaign of 1760 he was first with Lévis at Sainte Foy, where he was wounded, and later guarded the St. Lawrence at Sorel; he was at the latter place when reached by this reinforcement, rendered necessary from the fact that many of his other Indian allies had deserted him. All was to no purpose, however, and Bourlamaque was present at the capitulation of Montreal, Sept. 8, 1760. After returning to France, he was made brigadier-general, and appointed to the command of Guadeloupe, where he died in 1794.— Ed.

[Note also the letters addressed by Vaudreuil to Langlade, printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls* ., viii, pp. 215–216. The first, dated Montreal, Sept. 3, 1760, orders Langlade to return with the Indians to Mackinac, and informs him that he will pass two companies of English deserters on their way to Louisiana; with these he must see that the Indians keep peace, and he is to make provisions for their proper treatment en route.⁸⁰ The second,

⁸⁰ These deserters were largely from the Royal American regiment; see F. B. Hough, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (Albany, 1883), p. 158. This famous regiment was

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created by act of parliament in 1755. It was to consist of 4,000 men in four battalions, to be officered by foreign Protestants, with a British colonel at the head, and to be recruited among foreign immigrants in America, chiefly the Germans of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The proposition is said to have emanated from Horace Walpole. Frederick Haldimand and Henry Bouquet were both chosen lieutenant-colonels, and came to America in 1756 to recruit therefor. At first known as the 62nd foot, it became in 1756 the 60th infantry, and still forms part of the British regulars. Its first colonels were Lords Loudoun and Abercrombie, and Sir Jeffrey Amherst. Much opposition to the enlistment and quartering of the troops of this regiment, arose in Pennsylvania. The 60th participated in all the important campaigns of the French and Indian War, different battalions serving under Forbes, Wolfe, and Amherst, at Pittsburgh, Louisburg, Quebec, and Montreal. Two battalions were disbanded in 1763–64, and the remainder were withdrawn from America in 1773.— Ed.

220 dated Montreal, Sept. 9, 1760, informs Langlade of the capitulation of Montreal, and the terms secured. The citizens of Mackinac will be under the command of the officer sent there by General Amherst.⁸¹ This news is to be transmitted to St. Josephs. Vaudreuil hopes soon to meet Langlade in France.⁸²]

⁸¹ Jeffrey Amherst was born in Kent, England, in 1717. Having entered the army when a boy of fourteen, he served as aide-de-camp in the German campaigns of the Duke of Cumberland. In 1756 he became colonel of the 15th infantry. In 1758 he was recalled from Germany, promoted at one bound to a major-generalship, and sent to America. The siege of Louisburg in that year was prosecuted under his direction. In the autumn, he was made commander-in-chief for America. In the campaign of 1759 Amherst took charge on the Lake Champlain frontier. In that of 1760, he advanced from Oswego against Montreal. The latter city capitulated to his arms Sept. 8, 1760. He retained his position as commander-in-chief, with headquarters at New York, until 1763. Although Amherst was titular governor of Virginia, that colony was actually ruled by its lieutenant-governor, Francis Fauquier. Amherst retired to England in 1763, where he was promoted to a peerage, and rose

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to be commander-in-chief of the army stationed in England, dying in 1797 shortly after promotion to the rank of field marshal.— Ed.

82 According to the terms of the capitulation of Canada, Vaudreuil was to send immediate notice to the commandants of all the French posts. The officers were to be allowed, if they chose, to proceed to France.— Ed.

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1760: MACKINAC EVACUATED

[Extract from a letter from D'Abbadie,⁸³ dated Aug. 9, 1764. Translated from Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* (Paris, 1904), p. 191.]

83 Sieur d'Abbadie was born in southern France in 1726, finished his studies in 1742, and in the same year became clerk in the department of the marine. In 1745 he made a voyage to the Antilles and was captured by the English, being carried prisoner to England. Released the following year, he returned to Rochefort, where he was promoted through various ranks, until in 1761 named commissioner and ordinator-general of Louisiana. On his way to New Orleans he was again captured by the English, this time being kept for three months in the Barbadoes, returning to Paris in August, 1762. The next year he was appointed director-general of Louisiana, and superseding Kerlérec acted as governor during the interim between the treaty of Paris, and the transfer of Louisiana to the Spanish. D'Abbadie died at New Orleans, much regretted, in 1765.— Ed.

Monsieur de Beaujeu, captain of Canada, formerly in garrison at Michilimakinac evacuated that post in the month of October, 1760, after the taking of Montreal,⁸⁴ in order to retire to the Illinois, with 4 officers, 2 cadets, 48 soldiers and 78 militia. The ice stopped his passage, and he was forced to winter at Rock river, with the Sakkis and Renards savages.⁸⁵ This officer and his troops suffered a great deal during the six months that it took to reach the Illinois. I ask to-day for your orders for the expense that the evacuation of that detachment has caused, amounting to 65,387 livres 10 sol according to the statement

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84 Beaujeu must have left Mackinac soon after the arrival of Langlade, who brought news of the capitulation of Montreal.— Ed.

85 Probably at the Sauk village not far above the mouth of Rock River, later known as Black Hawk's town. This tribal settlement was formed after the affair of 1733, when Coulon de Villiers was slain in the Sauk village near Green Bay—see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 188—191; also *Proceedings*, 1907, p. 177. Marin was stationed here from 1738—41. Here Black Hawk was born in 1767, and his forceable removal therefrom was one of the inciting causes of the Black Hawk War (1832).— Ed.

222 sent me by Monsieur de Rochemore,⁸⁶ and on which account he has made payment of 15,396 livres. This expense has been made by the merchandise distributed among the savages with whom they wintered to supply the necessities of the detachment. The goods belonged chiefly to Messieurs de Beaujeu and de La Chapelle⁸⁷ and to the other officers and soldiers of the garrison of Michilimakinac.

86 Rochemore was commissary-intendant of Louisiana from 1758 to 1761. He was in constant dispute with Governor Kerlérec, and is chiefly remembered for his large emissions of paper currency.— Ed.

87 Sieur Passerat de la Chapelle was an officer of good family in France, who came to Louisiana to seek his fortune. He was an adventurer and spendthrift, never paying his obligations, and was several times imprisoned for debt. During the latter years of the French regime, he seems to have been stationed at Detroit and the Illinois. A family of this name lived at Kaskaskia as late as 1790.— Ed.